

GREECE, BALKAN GAMES AND BALKAN POLITICS IN THE INTERWAR YEARS (1929-1939)

Penelope Kissoudi

Submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Abstract

The Balkan Games resulted on the one hand from the growth of European sport and the unsatisfactory performances of the Balkan athletes at national and international level and on the other hand, from a desire to bring the Balkan peoples together in peace and unity. The Games were initiated in Athens in 1929 although territorial claims and war indemnities disputes brought discord to the Balkans. Traditional hostility between Greece and Turkey, profound distrust between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria and constant friction between Bulgaria and Greece seemed to make peace and understanding unattainable goals. Albania's bad relations both with Yugoslavia and Greece completed the gloomy Balkan picture in the interwar years. Despite misgivings and reservations, the Games were eventually established and increasingly became an integral part of the political and cultural life of the area. Without the zeal and unfailing support of all those who were involved in them, the Games could not have been successful. More importantly, Balkan leaders and diplomats strongly advocated good fellowship and collaboration in the region through sport. The common reality, of course, is that when an athletic event is staged, political friendship seldom receives priority. The demonstration of national superiority through sport attracts the attention of the competing parties. Nevertheless, in the 1930s the Balkan Games provided a rare example of how an athletic event was used to bring together antagonistic states. The Games were expected to have a long-term positive influence on trans-Balkan political relations. The outcome was by no means negligible. They gained increasing popularity; Balkan sport made great strides and the Balkan peoples met regularly in an atmosphere of goodwill. This study discusses the role of the Games in the process of rapprochement and collaboration between the Balkan states in the interwar years within a framework of the complex Balkan politics. As such it is intended to add to the literature, which deals with the political significance of sport in modern world.

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Prologue

The aim of this study is to investigate various aspects of the Balkan Games' existence between the wars. The socio-political scene in the Balkans, trans-Balkan relations in the interwar years and the efforts to promote Balkan sport after many years of unsatisfactory performances both at regional and international level are discussed in detail. The study seeks to find out in what ways and to what extent the Games came up to their founders' expectations for cultural and political collaboration in the region in adverse economic circumstances and amidst traditional hostility and interminable controversy. The political relationships between the various Balkan states in a scene of long established suspicions, years of national insecurity and the consequent desire for a lasting stability against the odds are examined in order to juxtapose these relationships with that of the Balkan Games. In this way, the value of the Games becomes evident. They were not a political panacea. They could not be. History was against them. But they were a source of goodwill and cooperation and a force for modernity. As such, the Games were an attempted peaceful alternative to diplomatic and political and military 'war'.

This is an original investigation as the few published works on the subject do not deal with the political dimensions of the Games. The study provides material on significant political events and describes and analyses the efforts to establish and promote the Games initiated by the Greeks in Athens in 1929. It drew on the Eleftherios Venizelos Archives, on Laws, Decrees and Ministerial Decisions published in the Official Gazette of Greece as well as on the Archives of the Olympic Games Committee (later renamed Hellenic Olympic Committee) and the International Olympic Academy in Athens. The study also drew on the Archives of the Greek Foreign Ministry, the Foreign Office Papers, and on the Diplomatic Documents of the Italian and French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Political newspapers and sports journals of the time

provided a great deal of precious, primary material. The key role of Greece in the foundation and promotion of the Games and the deliberations between Balkan representatives in the years of the Games' growth and maturity (1924-1928) are closely examined. Furthermore, the measures taken by the Venizelos government (1928-1932) to support the Games and to promote modern sport in Greece in particular come under searching scrutiny. Without overlooking the fact that the utilisation of sport for political reasons is not always idealistic, the study hopes to demonstrate that sport is capable of bringing distrustful peoples of different cultural backgrounds and socio-political systems and political histories together in at least momentary peace and unity. The diplomatic background of the Games is set down in some detail in order to juxtapose the relatively harmonious co-existence of the Balkan nations in the world of sport with hostilities, clashes and confrontations of the world of politics. Admirably, the Games survived the political wrangling, established contact between athletes, government representatives, diplomatic and sports delegates and journalists and served as a source of good will and collaboration. Frequently as a consequence, hope for political cooperation was restored. Despite the tangled Balkan diplomatic scene and the constant transition of trans-Balkan relations from good to bad and vice versa, the Games were held on an annual basis following principles that fostered cooperation and good fellowship. As such, they provide a case study of sport as a form of political benevolence and it is hoped, therefore that this thesis is an addition to the literature, which deals with the constructive role of sport in the modern world.

CHAPTER 1

SETTING THE SCENE: POLITICS, GREECE AND THE BALKAN STATES IN THE INTERWAR YEARS AND THE ROLE OF THE GREAT POWERS IN THE REGION

1.1 Relations between Greece, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria

In the 1920s the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula were faced with problems generated by the Great War and had to overcome tensions and controversies prevalent in the years preceding the Lausanne Treaty.¹ In fact, only a few years of relative tranquility and prosperity were to be given to the Balkan peoples between 1928 and 1940, when the area again became the scene of major military campaigns. Social and political unrest together with economic difficulties became more intense at the end of the 1920s due to the Great Depression.² Some issues had actually been settled by the peace settlements, but despite the emphasis on self-determination, the peace treaties were based on historical and strategic claims of the victors. The defeated states had called for self-determination to save themselves from territorial losses, whereas the victors had concentrated on the spoils of war.³

Of the Balkan states, Yugoslavia had been called the 'Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes' since the late 1910s. The Kingdom had been founded in December 1918, at a gathering in Belgrade of delegates from all the Yugoslav provinces. When the Great War ended and the Danube Monarchy fell away, the Croats and Slovenes, under Dr. Koroshetz, convened the National Council in Ljubljana. The

Council soon took the character of an unofficial government in the Yugoslav areas. The advance of the Italians from the west compelled the Council to appeal for Serbian aid. Early in November 1918, Pashic, the Serbian Premier, met Yugoslav leaders and members of the National Council in Geneva. It was agreed that a joint Servo-Yugoslav government should be set up, though the existing governmental agencies would continue functioning pending the drafting of a constitution by a Constituent Assembly. The Council sent a deputation to Prince Alexander of Serbia offering him the Regency. Meanwhile Montenegro's National Assembly deposed the unpopular King Nicholas and declared the union with Serbia. A few days later, Prince Alexander proclaimed the unification of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in one kingdom.⁴ Thus, during the years after the Great War, Yugoslavia, which had replaced Serbia on the postwar map of South-Eastern Europe, with enormously increased territory and population, steadily consolidated its position and improved its international prestige despite internal problems and difficulties.⁵ In 1927 Yugoslavia joined the French alliance, the 'Little Entente' and followed the French policy, which focused on the preservation of the *status quo* in Europe. As far as its relations with the neighbouring countries are concerned, Yugoslavia was on bad terms with Bulgaria and Albania while Hungary and Italy were its great foes. It was, however, on friendly terms traditionally with Greece, but its insistence that Greece should be its satellite eventually roused Greece's indignation.⁶

The 1924 Protocol, the 'Polites-Kalfop' Protocol concerning the protection of the Greco-Bulgarian minorities living on Greek and Bulgarian territory respectively, produced strong tension between Greece and Yugoslavia.⁷ It was in September 1924 that an agreement was signed in Geneva between Nikolaos Polites, the Greek representative and his Bulgarian opposite number Kalfop at the League of Nations. According to that agreement, the two sides consented to the involvement of the League

of Nations in internal affairs touching on the protection of the Bulgarian minority living on Greek territory. The members of the League of Nations could contact minorities, admonish the Greek government and report to the Secretariat General of the League. Bulgaria was under a similar obligation as regards the Greek minority living on its territory. What generated Yugoslavia's indignation was the fact that the 'slavophone' residents of Greek Macedonia were considered Bulgarians. More importantly, this precise Protocol was rightly considered to set a precedent for every foreign intervention in matters touching on national minorities.⁸ Yugoslavia reacted in protest immediately. Belgrade demanded that the 'slavophone' residents of Greek Macedonia be recognized as Serbs.⁹ When Greece refused to meet Yugoslavia's demands, Yugoslavia denounced the 1913 Greco-Yugoslav treaty.¹⁰ In response, the Greek Premier Andreas Michalakopoulos and his government withheld consent to the 1924 Protocol agreed by Greece and Bulgaria, and appealed to the League of Nations claiming its invalidation while the Greek Parliament rejected the Protocol under debate, in February 1925.¹¹ A month later, the Council of the League of Nations was convened and heard the Greek appeal under the presidency of the British Foreign Minister Austen Chamberlain. Eleftherios Venizelos, former Prime Minister of Greece, was called upon to represent Greece and support its position on the question. After long deliberations, the Council accepted the Greek position and nullified the notorious Greco-Bulgarian agreement.¹²

No sooner had negotiations for a new Greco-Yugoslav alliance been initiated, the Yugoslav government hastened to announce that a new treaty would be concluded only if pending issues were settled. Among other demands, the Yugoslav government claimed the restoration of the property of the Serbian monastery of Chilandarion on Mount Athos, which had been requisitioned by the Greek government. This was not all. Questions touching on the Serbian minority living in Greek Macedonia and the Free Zone in the port of Thessaloniki, which had been granted to Yugoslavia according to

the convention of May 10th 1923, were raised. Thessaloniki was the natural maritime outlet for Southern Yugoslavia and important consideration in Yugoslavia's interests.¹³ Thus irrespective of the nullification of the 1924 'Polites-Kalfof' Protocol, the re-establishment of relations between the two states depended on the satisfaction of four main Yugoslav demands concerning the return of the expropriated land which belonged to Chilandari cloister, conclusion of a specific treaty regarding minorities, settlement of the Thessaloniki Free Zone question¹⁴ and the administration of the Gevgeli-Thessaloniki railway.¹⁵ On 17 August 1926, during the Pangalos dictatorship in Greece, a political rapprochement between Greece and Yugoslavia was accomplished by the signing of a treaty of alliance.¹⁶ The two sides also signed a series of technical conventions, which provided for a Greco-Yugoslav administration of the railway from Gevgeli in Yugoslavia to Thessaloniki in Greece. Furthermore, a joint statement was issued according to which the slavophone residents of Macedonia were recognized as Serbians.¹⁷ These agreements went too far for Greek public opinion and the overthrow of General Pangalos a few days after the signature of the instruments involved the collapse of the settlement, which had been negotiated during his regime. General Kondyles, who followed Pangalos, hastened to announce the submission of the agreements with Yugoslavia to the Greek Parliament for ratification. In November 1926, a general election was held and early in December a new government was formed. The government, in which Andreas Michalakopoulos was given the post of Foreign Minister, was expected to reopen discussions with Yugoslavia with a view to obtaining modifications in the agreements of 17th August 1926.¹⁸

In August 1927, the Greek chamber rejected the treaty and the conventions of 17th August 1926, on the grounds that they conferred privileges upon Yugoslavia, which constituted a threat to Greek sovereignty in Macedonia. The Greek government declared, however, that it was amenable to granting to Yugoslavia all possible facilities

In the port of Thessaloniki provided that the sovereign rights of Greece were fully safeguarded. Greece also suggested the maintenance of the terms included in the 1923 agreement as grounds for any future agreement.¹⁹ Ultimately, a commercial treaty was signed in November 1927, along with a number of subsidiary conventions dealing with frontier traffic, railway tariffs and other technical matters.²⁰ Both the Greek and the Yugoslav side expressed keenness to come to a general agreement, but an offer to open fresh negotiations on the Thessaloniki port question did not seem to have been actively followed up for some months. In Geneva, in April 1928, during consultations at Foreign Ministers' level, Vodislav Marinkovic and Andreas Michalakopoulos agreed that negotiations on outstanding questions should be reopen. By June 1928, however, no definite result had been achieved.²¹ Moreover, Yugoslavia seemed to be in an awkward position. Apart from its dispute with Italy, Hungary and Greece, its relations with Bulgaria and Albania had recently changed for the worst.²² The Yugoslav-Bulgarian frontiers remained closed and the actions of Bulgarian terrorists worsened the relations between the two countries. In addition, the Yugoslav government was extremely upset by insistent rumours that Albania had proceeded to separate agreements with Hungary and Turkey.²³

Regarding Greek-Bulgarian relations in the interwar years, they reached a point of high tension particularly in 1925. Bulgaria, the only Balkan state that had supported the defeated Central Powers, was faced with a variety of problems generated by the postwar amalgamation of territories. After the First and Second Balkan War (1912-1913), Southern Dobrudja had been surrendered to Rumania, and the most of the Macedonian land had been portioned out between Greece and Serbia. According to the 1919 treaty of Neuilly,²⁴ Bulgaria had been compelled to concede four border districts to Yugoslavia and Western Thrace to Greece. Although Bulgaria lost its territory bordering on the Aegean, the peace treaty provided for negotiations with

Greece concerning access to the sea. Furthermore, the Allies levied on Bulgaria a reparation bill of \$450 million, an amount equivalent to a quarter of the nation's wealth.²⁵ The first difference between Greece and Bulgaria arose over the application of the convention involving the voluntary emigration of Bulgarians from the Greek territory and vice versa. The convention was signed by Eleftherios Venizelos and Alexander Stamboliski on 27 November 1919. According to it, about thirty thousand Greeks left Bulgaria while fifty three thousand Bulgarians immigrated to their motherland.²⁶ The convention stipulated that the immigrants should sell their properties either themselves or by proxy. Properties unsold by 18 December 1922 would be subject to liquidation by a Committee appointed for the purpose.²⁷

At the Lausanne Conference of 1922-1923, the Bulgarian Premier, Alexander Stamboliski contested the rights of Greece over Western Thrace and claimed that Bulgaria should have a strip of territory and its own port in the Aegean. Venizelos, who represented Greece at the Conference, offered a Bulgarian Zone in the port of Thessaloniki similar to that assigned to the Yugoslavs. The Bulgarians considered the proposition unsatisfactory, and dropped the question altogether, indicating that they were interested only in territorial acquisitions.²⁸ The overthrow of Alexander Stamboliski regime in 1923 and the domination of nationalist elements in the political life of Bulgaria paved the way to a new political orientation marked by a strong nationalism. Furthermore, the great number of refugees from Macedonia and Thrace along with the raids of the 'komitadjis', Bulgarian armed bands, into Yugoslav and Greek territories raised serious problems. It was the transfer of populations, however, that gave rise to most controversy. Greece owed to Bulgaria the value of the land abandoned by the immigrants whereas Bulgaria was in debt over the value of the Greek properties, which had been seized during the Great War.²⁹

In 1924, the Bulgarian Premier Tsankov, in one of his speeches on Balkan relations, pointed out that his country could live better provided that the neighbouring countries enjoyed political stability and friendly relations restored among the states of the Balkan Peninsula.³⁰ Unfortunately, on 19 October 1925, in an exchange of shots, a Greek border sentry was killed and a Greek officer arriving at the scene to affect a cease-fire was also killed. Shooting along the border became general and the Greek troops were forced to evacuate their exposed post. What started out as a simple frontier incident escalated into a serious issue.³¹ Three days after the incident, the Greek troops entered Bulgarian territory via the Struma Valley. Virtually demilitarized under the Treaty of Neuilly, Bulgaria was in no position to resist a Greek advance and appealed to the League of Nations.³² Diplomatically isolated and with the threat of sanctions looming on the horizon, Greece instructed its army to evacuate the Bulgarian territory immediately. The Greek withdrawal took place on 28 October 1925. Two months later the Council of the League of Nations concluded that an indemnity of thirty million Bulgarian leva should be paid by Greece within two months. Meanwhile, the Committee of Inquiry found out that the Greek officer had been killed but there was no certainty as to who had killed him.³³ In due course, the Bulgarian attaché in Bern informed Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary General of the League, that the Greek government had paid half of the sum due the other half was to be paid on 1 March 1926. The eventual payment of the other half of the indemnity, in March 1926, brought the Greco-Bulgarian incident to a close.³⁴

Nevertheless, every effort at the settlement of the Greco-Bulgarian dispute met with the lingering refusal of the Bulgarian government to accept the permanence of the treaty's terms. Bulgarian insistence on a territorial outlet to the Aegean Sea hindered the two sides from reaching an understanding and establishing trade and cultural relations. More significantly, the exchange of populations had resulted in complicated

financial disputes and led to the stagnation of the bilateral negotiations.³⁵ Even the 'Kafandares-Mollof' agreement, in December 1927, which aspired to the settlement of the financial obligations resulted from the exchange of populations, remained a dead letter. The Greek cabinet under Alexandros Zaimis decided not to ratify the 1927 agreement, which involved the payment of a large sum as indemnity to Bulgaria on the ground that Bulgaria had not met its obligations concerning the Great War indemnities to Greece.³⁶ Notwithstanding, in his electoral speech in Thessaloniki in 1928, Venizelos had revealed his desire to reach an agreement with Bulgaria.³⁷ However, public opinion in Greece could not forget the violence committed by Bulgarians against the Greek population in Eastern Macedonia, which was under Bulgarian occupation during the Great War. Understandably, every thought of concession was rejected in advance.³⁸ In October 1928, Greece expressed strong dissent to the suspension of the war reparations' payment. The proposal was made by the Reparations Committee of the League of Nations and resulted from the extensive damages Bulgaria had suffered due to an earthquake in April 1928. The Greek arguments went unheeded and, in response, Greece refused to ratify the 'Kafandares-Mollof' agreement, which settled issues concerning indemnities to the exchanged populations between Greece and Bulgaria.³⁹ When eventually Athens, under the pressure of the international community, agreed to implement the 'Kafandares-Mollof' agreement, Venizelos made clear that Greece would never consent to a further reduction in the war indemnities Bulgaria owed to Greece unless it was followed by reduction in the war debt Greece owed to Bulgaria.⁴⁰ Sir Percy Loraine, the British Ambassador in Athens, reported that despite the general feeling that the agreement with Bulgaria was only a matter of time, no progress in the Greco-Bulgarian negotiations was made in 1928.⁴¹

In the early 1929, Greece attempted to improve its relations with Bulgaria.⁴² The meeting between A. Buroff, the Bulgarian Foreign Minister and his Greek opposite

number Alexander Karapanos in Geneva in March 1929 was regarded as a positive development. Notwithstanding, a little later and due to intransigent attitude from both sides the talks reached again a deadlock. At their meeting, Buroff and Karapanos, realized that no progress could be made in matters concerning the 'Bulgarophone' minority in Greek Macedonia and agreed to enter into negotiations for the settlement of financial issues the arrangement of which, it was hoped that might pave the way for political rapprochement. The talks resumed, but progress in the discussions was by no means easy. The government of Athens demanded indemnities for the damages the Bulgarians committed against the Greek population at Achialos in the 1906 pogrom. The Bulgarian government declined responsibility for events generated by its countrymen and called attention to the fact that during the negotiations for the international treaties Greece had laid no claims on indemnities for damages. In consequence, Bulgaria considered the 'Achialos' indemnities statute-barred claims.⁴³

It was then that the British government decided to play an active role. In April 1929, Sir Percy Loraine suggested that London should put pressure on Bulgaria and should promote the Greek demands. His proposal, however, was rejected on the grounds that the British pressure would be ineffective inasmuch as Bulgaria faced economic difficulties.⁴⁴ Orme Sargent, the British Counsellor and later Assistant Undersecretary of State in the Foreign Office, informed Dimitrios Kaklamanos, the Greek Ambassador in London, of the British position. He emphasized that Britain desired good relationships with Sofia and suggested that the Balkan governments and Britain should attempt to reduce Bulgaria's suspicion that it was surrounded by foes.⁴⁵ About a year later, in March 1930, Sydney Waterloo, the British Ambassador in Sofia, met his Greek opposite number and let him know that King Boris had accepted the British initiative on settling the Greco-Bulgarian dispute.⁴⁶ Conciliation, however, was not to be achieved so easily as the British diplomats hoped. On 21 June 1930,

Venizelos met G. Kiosseivanov, the Bulgarian Ambassador in Athens and gave the reasons why Greece had not accepted the applications of 6,000 Bulgarian families who claimed indemnities for leaving the Greek Macedonia during the exchange of populations. Venizelos remarked that, if Sofia regarded such a concession as prerequisite for the settlement of outstanding issues, the negotiations would not be continued and the trans-national differences would be referred to the Hague Tribunal.⁴⁷

By late 1930 no considerable progress was made in the Greco-Bulgarian negotiations. Thus, on 20 December 1930, both countries were invited by the British government to submit the outstanding issues to the neutral members of the Mixed Immigration Committee for arbitration.⁴⁸ At this crucial moment, Arthur Henderson, the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in a letter to the Greek and Bulgarian governments suggested that the Hague Tribunal should inquire into the claims of the Bulgarian refugees and the Greek demands resulted from the destruction of properties at Achialos in 1906. It was then that the Greek population had emigrated from Bulgaria to Greece and had settled at New Achialos in Thessaly.⁴⁹ Henderson also advised that war indemnities should be referred to arbitration as it was provided by the Hague agreement of 1930. The other issues should be submitted for arbitration to the neutral members of the Mixed Greco-Bulgarian Commission.⁵⁰ The Bulgarian intransigence did not give place for optimism. In March 1931, Henderson was not hopeful for the successful outcome of his proposal. Athens, in an effort to reach an agreement with Bulgaria, notified to Henderson that it was amenable to mutual prescription of outstanding debts.⁵¹ Nevertheless, the Bulgarians did not change their mind and Henderson's plan had no successful outcome. On 21 July 1931, Alexander Mallinov, leader of the Liberal Party and a man of moderate views, was elected prime minister of Bulgaria. The Greek side appeared hopeful that some improvement in Greco-Bulgarian relations was feasible.⁵²

Furthermore, the dispute about Herbert Hoover's plan, in June 1931, resulted in the cancellation of the discharge of the Bulgarian war debts to Greece. Athens, in response, announced that the indemnities settled by the 'Kafandares-Mollof' agreement were considered international and, in consequence, they should be incorporated in the moratorium. Sofia rejected the proposal in advance.⁵³ Notwithstanding, in the mid-November 1931, after long deliberation, Greece and Bulgaria reached something of an agreement, due to international pressure on Bulgaria to display a spirit of goodwill.⁵⁴ Meanwhile, Mallinov was replaced by Nicolas Mushanov and some sanguine prospects, which had shakily arisen by the 1931 agreement between Greece and Bulgaria, were dispelled. Greece imposed tenfold taxes on goods imported from these countries, which had not signed trade agreements with it. The fact generated Bulgaria's indignation whose exported products to Greece now suffered a telling blow.⁵⁵ In June 1932, the resumption of negotiations was discussed between the Greek Ambassador in Sofia and King Boris.⁵⁶ In a hopeless effort, Michalakopoulos, the Greek Foreign Minister, met Nicolas Mushanov in Laussane in July 1932 and discussed with him the crucial question of the war reparations. Regrettably, after his return to Greece, Michalakopoulos announced to Victor Cavendish-Bentinck of the British Embassy in Athens that Bulgaria did not intend to pay war indemnities to Greece and the question would remain in suspense.⁵⁷ Thus, when Venizelos lost the elections on 25 September 1932, the Greco-Bulgarian differences had not been smoothed out. Notwithstanding, relations between the two countries had been improved and the hope for the definite settlement of the questions was not dead. Relations between Greece, Turkey, Rumania and Albania is the next matter under consideration.

1.2 Greek-Turkish and Greek-Rumanian relations. Relations with Albania

After the Greek defeat in Asia Minor in September 1922, the Allied Powers on the one hand and Turkey on the other met in Lausanne on 20 November 1922 to draw up a peace treaty. Venizelos, who was living in voluntary exile in London, was asked to represent Greece while Turkey was represented by Ismet Pasha, the Turkish Foreign Minister. The discussions continued for months in an atmosphere of growing tension and heated argument.⁵⁸ Finally, the parties reached an agreement and February 4th, 1923 was set for the signature of the treaty. The same day, however, in a sudden escalation, the Turkish delegation rejected the proposed draft text and the Conference was abandoned. It was only on 24 July 1923 that the final peace settlement between Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Rumania, the Kingdom of Serbs-Croats-Slovenes and Turkey was signed. The treaty was ratified by Greece on 25 August 1923.⁵⁹ According to its terms, Smyrna and its hinterland remained under Turkish sovereignty, Eastern Thrace and the islands of Imvros and Tenedos at the entrance of the Dardanelle were returned to the new Turkish Republic, the Dodecanese islands were ceded to Italy, and Greece accepted its obligation to make reparation for the damage caused in Asia Minor. Turkey, however, in consideration of the financial situation of Greece resulting from the prolongation of the war, renounced all claims for reparation against the Greek government. The most important part of the Lausanne treaty, however, was the action concerning the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations signed by Venizelos and Ismet Inonu on 30 January 1923.⁶⁰

By the treaty a Mixed Committee was to be set up for the supervision of the exchange, and it was to consist of four members representing Greece, four representing Turkey and three chosen by the Council of the League of Nations from among those nations which did not take part in the Great War.⁶¹ For the first time in history the international community accepted the forcible uprooting and the accompanying distress and hardship of hundreds of thousands of peaceful and law-

abiding citizens. The appointed sub-committee drafted the Convention, which affirmed the obligatory character of the exchange. The article two of the treaty defined those who were exempt from the exchange. They were the Moslems of Western Thrace and the Greeks of Constantinople. An eleven-member Committee was appointed to facilitate the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey and carry out the liquidation of the movable and immovable property. The total sums due to the basis of this liquidation would constitute a government debt from the country where the liquidation took place to the government of the country to which the emigrant belonged.⁶² During the 1920s and 1930s, a not inconsiderable number of commentators, observing the intense sufferings of the displaced populations, found the compulsory character of the exchange particularly brutal and repugnant.⁶³ Others stressed that such large-scale compulsory exchange of populations broke all the acceptable principles of International Law, as well as the humanitarian tradition of Europe.⁶⁴ Furthermore, conciliation between Greece and Turkey was extremely difficult because of the outstanding indemnities resulting from the exchange of populations. According to the 1923 convention, the exchanged population would receive for the immovable properties they abandoned, land of equivalent value and the balance of payments would be chargeable the debtor country. The Mixed Committee was unable to settle the dispute effectually and urged the Greek government to submit to arbitration by the Permanent Court of International Justice all controversial issues. However, the Turkish government persisted in an arbitrary evaluation of properties.⁶⁵

That was not all. By the end of 1924, a dispute over the status of the Phanar clerics⁶⁶ had profoundly unsettling effects on the Patriarchate. In the mid-July 1924, Patriarch Gregory had expressed his anxiety about the status of the archbishops who had come to the city later than 1918, and were therefore technically exchangeable under the terms of the Lausanne treaty. After the death of Patriarch Gregory, in

November 1924 the Holy Synod elected Constantine Araboglou as Patriarch.⁶⁷ The Patriarch Constantine, who was born in Asia Minor and came to Constantinople after 30 October 1918, fulfilled all the conditions necessary for an exchange. Thus the Turks refused to recognize the new Patriarch and pressed the Mixed Committee to speed up Constantine's exchange procedures. On account of the fact that the Turks considered the Patriarchate a purely Turkish institution, they felt that it was within their jurisdiction to reject a person who, according to their criteria, was ineligible for the patriarchal position.⁶⁸ On 30 January 1925, Constantine was abruptly expelled from Turkey. He was received by thousands of people in Thessaloniki who demanded vengeance upon the Turks. The Greek government found itself in a very awkward position. The Greek Premier, Andreas Michalakopoulos, told Sir Milne Cheetham, the British Ambassador in Athens, that popular feelings might provide the opportunity for extreme elements in the army to stage a coup 'd'etat' and proclaim a dictatorship.⁶⁹ Finally, in March 1925 the question of the Patriarchate came before the League of Nations. Due to Turkish objections, however, the members of the Council declined to proceed with the question and concluded that there should be recourse to the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion. Greece realized that it would reap few benefits by internationalizing the issue and agreed to enter into direct negotiations with Turkey. The issue was settled with the voluntary resignation of Patriarch Constantine and the election by the Holy Synod of metropolitan bishop Vasileios as Patriarch.⁷⁰

Nevertheless, in mid-1928, progress in Greco-Turkish relations was closely connected to the Greco-Italian negotiations. Rome realized that conciliation between Greece and Turkey, under the Italian auspices, could be a forceful means of strengthening its influence in the South-Eastern Europe. Thus in March 1928, first in Geneva and later in Milan, the representatives from Greece, Turkey and Italy decided to establish and promote political association.⁷¹ The three sides decided on bilateral

treaties. A Greco-Italian and an Italian-Turkish treaty would lead off, then a Greco-Turkish treaty would come next provided that the dispute between Athens and Ankara was settled. Conciliatory efforts by Italy failed while the Greek proposal, which made provision for an appeal to compulsory arbitration in case of disagreement, was rejected by the Turkish government.⁷² Moreover, Michalakopoulos, the Greek Foreign Minister, informed Sir Percy Loraine, the British Ambassador in Athens, that Greece did not intend signing a treaty with Italy before an agreement with Turkey was concluded.⁷³ However, the Italian government was determined to sign a treaty with Turkey. A treaty of non-aggression and neutrality between Italy and Turkey was finally agreed in May 1928. Soon after, Nikolaos Polites, the Greek Ambassador in Paris, visited the French Foreign Minister, Philippe Berthelot and asked for French mediation between Ankara and Belgrade.⁷⁴ However, since early January 1928 Greece was faced with a new political crisis, which resulted from the disagreement between the Minister of Transport and Communication, Ioannes Metaxas and the Minister of Agriculture, Alexander Papanastassiou. Due to this dispute, the Zaimes' government resigned and a new coalition government was formed, but general discontent among the people was clear. The political situation was back to normal in August 1928, when Venizelos assumed the reins of government. His return to active politics was considered a promising step towards the consolidation of democracy and deliverance of the country from the unfavourable diplomatic situation.⁷⁵ The Greek-Rumanian Treaty and Greco-Albanian relations in the 1920s are the next matters under consideration.

By early 1928 the main dispute between Greece and Rumania concerned the construction of the railway that would join the two countries. Rumania aspired to a railway that would join it to Greece via Bulgaria. The Greek General Staff were circumspect and produced objections involving the Greek defensive system. In 1926, Michalakopoulos, the Greek Foreign Minister, got round objections and difficulties with

the proviso that the Rumanian government guaranteed that the new railway connection should be used exclusively for trade.⁷⁶ In consequence, in December 1927, the negotiations between Greece and Rumania entered a new phase. However, in Rumania, the accession to power by the Liberals under the rule of Ionel and Vintila Bratianu and friendly relations between Italy and Hungary, a mortal foe of Rumania, resulted in the stagnation of Italian-Rumanian relations. Then, in January 1928, Nicolae Titulescu, the Rumanian Foreign Minister, visited Rome in an effort to re-establish diplomatic ties.⁷⁷ During confidential discussions between Titulescu and Mussolini, the former made known that a treaty of non-aggression and arbitration between Greece and Rumania was almost certain. The fact that the Italian Premier approved of the idea actually encouraged Titulescu. Some days later, the Rumanian Foreign Minister announced progress in the Greco-Rumanian negotiations.⁷⁸ He ignored the Yugoslav government and its reaction to an impending Greco-Rumanian agreement.⁷⁹ Andreas Michalakopoulos, however, hastened to make clear to Belgrade that, although he was amenable to an agreement with Yugoslavia, he could never end his efforts to establish friendly relations with any other Balkan state. Consequently, on 21 March 1928, during the scheduled Session of the League of Nations in Geneva, Titulescu and Michalakopoulos signed the Greco-Rumanian treaty of non-aggression and arbitration.⁸⁰

The terms of the treaty ensured avoidance of every offensive action. Appeal to a juridical settlement or settlement by arbitration was stipulated by the treaty.⁸¹ The Greco-Rumanian political rapprochement was expected to pave the way for an agreement with Turkey, Bulgaria and especially with Yugoslavia.⁸² Michalakopoulos' desire to enter into an agreement with Rumania was related to the fact that the Greco-Yugoslav negotiations had arrived at deadlock in 1927 and Greece remained diplomatically isolated.⁸³ However, the British Foreign Office stated that the Greco-

Rumanian agreement was short term and would not decisively affect the attitude of Yugoslavia towards Greece.⁸⁴ According to Sir Percy Loraine's report, the Greco-Rumanian treaty was supposed to be the first step towards a 'Balkan Locarno' (that is a Balkan Pact modelled on the Locarno treaty), and could be useful as a hint to Yugoslavia and a pledge of Greece's peaceful intentions.⁸⁵ In reality, the 1928 treaty with Rumania was the first diplomatic agreement that Greece concluded after the 1923 Lausanne treaty initiating the start of bilateral Balkan agreements. In addition, Greco-Rumanian relations at a commercial and cultural level progressed steadily during the premiership of Venizelos and were strengthened even more when the Greek Premier visited Rumania in 1931.⁸⁶

Albania was the smallest and weakest country in the Balkan Peninsula. During the 1920s, it was clearly understood by the Albanian government that it could not survive unless it placed itself under the protection of a Great Power. Immediately after his rise to power in the late 1924, Ahmet Zoghu found himself in pressing need of money. His first appeal to Yugoslavia for financial support failed for Yugoslavia had no money available. Thereupon he applied to the League of Nations. It was impossible, however, for the League to recommend a loan, which was not justifiable on financial grounds.⁸⁷ In fact, Italy was the only country among the Great Powers, which had political interests in Albania and was tempted to play the role of protector. In 1925 a loan of fifty million gold francs was offered by an Italian bank for the development of Albania's economic resources, while a considerable number of demands were submitted to the Albanian government. Zoghu, threatened by a visible revolution and an economic bankruptcy, signed the treaty of Tirana on 27 November 1926, which was renewed on 26 April 1927.⁸⁸

Serious problems between Greece and Albania were generated by the expulsion of the Greek population living in Albania. Irrespective of the hostile attitude of Albania towards the Greek minority, a consular agreement was signed by the two countries in Athens in 1926. The agreement settled issues concerning both the Greek and Albanian subjects. Furthermore, a variety of agreements were signed touching on nationality, trade and navigation, as well as the extradition of criminals without, however, improving the living conditions of the Greek population in Albania.⁸⁹ The agreement of nationality was not implemented by the Greek Parliament as soon as the public expense to the Greek state on indemnities of a million acres of expropriated land which belonged to Albanian residents, was known. Albania's appeal to the League of Nations was unsuccessful as the Council decided in Greece's favour. In consequence, relations between Greece and Albania became tense and the situation reached a point of high tension when Albania occupied Northern Epirus, a region where most of the population was Greeks.⁹⁰

Albania, the Italian stronghold in the Balkans from 1926, was on good terms neither with Greece nor with Yugoslavia. Belgrade considered northern Albania inseparable part of Dalmatia whereas Tirana coveted Kosovo in Yugoslavia where an Albanian minority was living. On the other hand, Athens regarded southern Albania, the so-called northern Epirus, as Greek territory inasmuch as many Greeks were living in the area. Tirana, in turn, had designs on northwestern Greece consequent upon the ambiguous borderline.⁹¹ In the general report of November 1927 the Greek Foreign Ministry described Greco-Albanian relations tense and called attention to the fact that the Albanian government obstructed the Greek schools in Albania in smooth running.⁹² In response, Athens refused to ratify the 1926 Greco-Albanian Conventions. On its part, Albania hastened to submit to the League of Nations questions touching on the expropriation of the Albanian properties in Greece and the supposed 'persecution' of

the Albanian minority. They accused the Greeks of 'persecution' of 15,000 Albanians in Epirus, the 'Tsamides' to whom the Greek government refused to concede minorities rights. Greece denied both charges.⁹³ Moreover, the League of Nations rejected the Albanian argument on the grounds that the issues submitted were beyond the competence of the League of Nations. Therefore, the dispute should be settled by means of bilateral talks. In August 1928, Venizelos, in an effort to display a spirit of goodwill, recognized Albania as Kingdom and Ahmet Zoghu as King Zog, although Zog had constituted himself king by arbitrary decision in September 1928.⁹⁴ In addition, in November 1928, Greece put into effect the treaty of trade and navigation with Albania, the treaty of extradition and the minorities Convention, which had agreed in 1926. More importantly, Leon Melas was appointed Ambassador in Tirana and was entrusted with the re-establishment of diplomatic relations. Thus, in the early 1929, the two countries seemed to be almost on friendly terms and the Greek Ambassador in Tirana notified to the Greek government that Elias Brionis, the Albanian Foreign Minister, had proposed a Greco-Albanian treaty.⁹⁵

Despite good intentions and some sanguine signs, the expulsion from Albania, in March 1929, of the Metropolit of Korytsa, representative of the Ecumenical Patriarch and the constitution of the Albanian Synod, torpedoed the rapprochement between Greece and Albania.⁹⁶ Greece accused Albania of bad treatment of the Greek population in Albania and refused to recognize the new Autocephalous Albanian Church. The Albanian government, however, stated that the Christians suffered no persecution in Albania and the Council of the League of Nations did not inquire into the question.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, in the early 1930, Athens and Tirana were not far from reaching an agreement on the Autocephalous Albanian Church. The Albanian government promised that fifty-two Greek schools would be permitted to exist in Albania in 1931 and Athens appeared amenable to the payment of indemnities to these

Albanians whose properties had been expropriated.⁹⁸ Regrettably, by the end of February 1930, the Greco-Albanian discussions reached again a deadlock.⁹⁹ However, King Zog met the Greek Ambassador in Tirana in 1930 in an effort to make clear that the restoration of trust and good fellowship between the two nations could be an attainable goal. The King laid stress on the profits of the political rapprochement and particularly of the trade exchanges. The foundation of a Greek bank in Tirana was also discussed.¹⁰⁰ Nonetheless, Greece recalled its Ambassador from Tirana and nominated Kimon Kollas as Charge d' Affaires to the vacant post. For his part, the Albanian Foreign Minister endeavoured to make relations harmonious claiming that the conversations failed to be successful due to Albanian diplomatic ineptitude. The Albanian Minister declared himself amenable to every possible concession.¹⁰¹

At last, a wind of hope blew over the region. By the end of 1930, Greece and Albania seemed to desire the arrangement of crucial issues concerning the payment of indemnities to Albanians whose properties had been expropriated, the running of Greek schools in Albania and the recognition of the Autocephalous Albanian Church and the Patriarchate.¹⁰² Moreover, Athens decided to appoint again an Ambassador in Tirana. Thus, in May 1931 Venizelos nominated Kimon Kollas, the hitherto Charge d' Affaires, as Ambassador.¹⁰³ The two states, however, did not eventually enter into fresh negotiations for the settlement of pending issues. Albania's relations with Italy had a turn for the worse while the establishment of diplomatic relations with Bulgaria attracted Athens' attention.¹⁰⁴ Venizelos believed that conciliation with Bulgaria was priority. The restoration of good relations with Albania could wait. In response, Albania once again followed an intransigent attitude towards matters concerning the Autocephalous Albanian Church and the Greek schools. By the time Venizelos lost the elections (September 1932), the Greco-Albanian differences had not been settled.¹⁰⁵ The British

and French policies in the Balkans in the interwar years as well as Greek-British and Greek-French relations will now receive attention.

1.3 British and French policies In Southeastern Europe. Greek-British and Greek-French relations

After the Great War, Great Britain, France, and, to some extent, Italy were considered Great Powers. After the communist revolution, Russia, which no longer played the role of a Great Power, did not effectively influence the evolution of international affairs and simply aspired to go into partnership with the defeated states. In consequence, Russia hastened to sign treaty with both Turkey and Germany without, however, achieving a long-term alliance between it, Germany and Turkey inasmuch as first Germany and then Turkey quitted Russia. As for Germany, disarmed and going into a financial crisis resulted from war indemnities, it confined itself to efforts at its release from the terms of the Versailles treaty. Moreover, the United States of America principally signed the Paris treaty of 27th August 1928, the Briand-Kellogg treaty, according to which the involved states should avoid settlement of international disputes and imposition of national policies by the means of war. Except United States and France, the treaty was also signed by Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan and Czechoslovakia. It was complementary to the Locarno treaty with no, however, implementation.¹⁰⁶ Thus, taking into consideration the fact that inter-Balkan relations were not independent of the foreign policy that Britain, France and Italy, adopted in Southeastern Europe in the interwar years, a brief survey of their policies in the area is required.

The peace settlement of 1919-1920 created two camps in Europe: one of victors, who concentrated on the preservation of territories and the other of those, who considered themselves injured by the treaties and felt that they had been deprived of

lands that were justly theirs.¹⁰⁷ However, during the second half of the 1920s, a wind of hope and reconciliation was blowing over Europe. The rapprochement achieved by the European states was called the 'Locarno's Spirit' after the Locarno treaty had agreed in October 1925. In the Balkan Peninsula some moves towards the achievement of a Balkan 'Locarno', were made, in the hope that the Balkan countries would finally settle disputes, ensure national boundaries and try for progress and prosperity of their peoples.¹⁰⁸ According to the record of the British Ambassador in Athens, Sir Percy Loraine, the British side was in favour of a Balkan Pact.¹⁰⁹ Every effort, however, at reconciliation among the Balkan states was faced with many obstacles. Of the most serious was that of Bulgaria's refusal to accept the *status quo* in combination with the fact that after the Great War, the Great Powers interfered in Balkan affairs and it was uncertain whether Paris and Rome intended to leave the Balkan peoples to themselves and to provide the opportunity for them to deal with their problems and settle their disputes.¹¹⁰

With regard to the British foreign policy in the interwar period, maintenance of command of the seas by means of its own naval strength supported by friendly relations with other naval powers, promotion of a high level of world trade, prevention of control on the continent in Europe by any one power, and preservation of peace were the main principles the British government followed. The effects of the war on the political, strategic and economic situation of the United Kingdom determined the broad lines of the policies these principles required.¹¹¹ Firstly, Britain's main interests were centred on extra-European affairs to an even greater extent than before 1914. Closer relations with the Dominions were dictated by their political advance, by the enormous burden of defence of global interests in the twentieth century and by Britain's relative loss of economic strength. New threats to its position and interests in the Middle East, India and the Far East developed as result of the war and of the postwar activities of

the Soviet Union.¹¹² In the second place, Britain's aims in Europe were to remove the grounds for disputes or peacefully resolve them, to avoid wide commitments that might involve too great an allocation of its extended resources and to promote the economic restoration of Europe as part of its own economic recovery. Pursuit of these aims, which involved political conciliation and economic revival of Germany, necessarily caused British policies to diverge from those of France which, twice invaded and devastated by Germany and aware of its weakness relative to the potential power of a revived Germany, endeavoured to maintain in their entirety the restrictions imposed by the Versailles treaty.¹¹³ More significantly, public opinion, whether expressed by mass-circulation papers, groups or by electoral results was generally recognized as disliking war and as being a brake upon a belligerent foreign policy.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the 1920s marked the end of a long era in which Britain's policy was decided by a select group of aristocrats, squires and businessmen, who argued, without much concern for the views of the masses, about the 'national interest' and who usually displayed a wish to preserve that interest energetically, if need be by armed force. In fact, there were moral, economic, strategic and domestic motives operating in the public consciousness and urging the British government to favour a foreign policy, which was pragmatic, conciliatory and reasonable. It was a policy predicated upon the assumption that provided national interests were not adversely affected; the peaceful settlement of disputes was much more to Britain's advantage than recourse to war.¹¹⁵

In the same period of time, Great Britain was faced with many complex diplomatic issues. Ireland, Egypt of Zhagoul and India of Gandhi took priority. In contrast to the other Great Powers, Britain had interests in every part of the world and took great interest in seaways and trade routes. In the early twentieth century, when other powers were challenging the Royal Navy's mastery of the seas, when land power in the form of arms race and strategic railways was gaining ground in relation to sea

power and when many more threats to Britain's imperial position were arising, Britain began to realize that there was an increasing gap between the country's strength and its commitments.¹¹⁶ This tended to stimulate the British government to consider which regions had priority and in which it might be necessary to give way gracefully. In short, the existence of multifold dangers and obligations decisively influenced decision-making for it was appreciated that if Britain concentrated too much on one region, it would have no strength to protect others.¹¹⁷ However, the strategic shipping lanes of the eastern part of Mediterranean were of great consequence to Great Britain's interests.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, in the 1920s Britain was reasonably on good terms with Italy and confined itself to joint rule with it in the Mediterranean. Sir Percy Loraine informed high-ranking officers in London that the Greek government realised that Britain's friendship with Italy was strengthened at expense of good relations with France.¹¹⁹ On the other hand Great Britain was not amenable to involvement in matters touching on Greece's relations with the Balkan states and confined itself merely to promotion of its financial interests in the region.¹²⁰ In consequence, the Greek demand that the British government secure Greek territorial integrity was only partly satisfied and Greece had to seek the pledge and support it needed from other states.¹²¹ This happened despite the fact that friendly relations with Greece were supposed to be necessary precondition for the preservation of British control over the Suez Canal and the Straits of the Dardanelle. Moreover, commercial, financial and political interests were bound up with Greek-British relations while Britain's interest in the investment of capital abroad was starkly evident in Greece. By the end of the 1920s, British products dominated the Greek market.¹²²

This was not all. A large amount of the Greek public debt owed to Britain and the British capital invested in industry or public utility services considerably surpassed any other foreign investment. The wide recourse of the Greek government to British

capital was clearly a political action to create preconditions for long term Greco-British collaboration in every area.¹²³ All things considered, the settlement of outstanding financial obligations such as the Greek war debt, indemnities paid by Greece for expropriated British land, and the contract with the Power and Traction Company, were all evidence of the friendly attitude the Greek government displayed towards London.¹²⁴ In addition, the Whitehall Securities Limited invested five million lire in electric lighting for the Greek capital and means of transport while British companies and business and especially the Hambro bank had invested considerable sums of money in Greek industries, mining and land reclamation works. The total amount of British capital invested in Greece, had risen to fifteen million lire by the eve of Second World War.¹²⁵ Till then, Greece was the only state in the Balkan Peninsula, which consciously confined itself to trade with Britain and avoided collaboration with Germany.¹²⁶ In the final analysis, the foundations of an undisturbed relation between Greece and Britain must be sought in their combined struggles against common foes and the ideological principles both states followed. It was conviction of the majority of the Greek people that the British political system provided an exemplary pattern of Parliamentary Democracy and leading Greek politicians such as Alexander Mavrokordatos, Charilaos Trikoupes and Eleftherios Venizelos did not hide their admiration for Britain's political system.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, it could be argued that the British attitude to Greece in the period could have been more positive. But what of policies adopted by France and implemented in the Balkans in the interwar period?

With the temporary weakening of Germany and Soviet Union in the 1920s, the door was open for the exertion of influence by other countries. France became the principal Great Power with a clear diplomatic programme to implement. The primary aim of French policy after the Great War was to preserve the *status quo* as expressed in the peace treaties. The major problem was to prevent the resurgence of Germany,

with a much larger population than France and a potentially much stronger economy. The imposition of reparations, which proved beyond the capabilities of both the German, and the European financial system to bear, and the formation of circle of alliances of victor states were among the means that France used to attain its goal.¹²⁸ In the meantime, Germany endeavoured to balance between East and West. On 25 February 1919 France demanded that the river Rhine should be the French frontier and that the bridges over the Rhine should be occupied by inter-Allied forces. It was believed that only through demilitarization of the Rhine could France bring swift aid to any of the east European states should they be threatened by Germany or Russia and that the foundation of any future aggressive action against France could be destroyed only by occupation of the left bank of the Rhine and mastery of the strategic railway network in the region.¹²⁹ Moreover, Germany was considered responsible for the war and was liable for damages caused during the war. For this reason it had to pay indemnities in money and goods to the victors. In an attempt at diversion, Germany sought financial deliberation with Russia and in April 1922 the two states agreed the Rapallo treaty. A secret protocol secured collaboration between the German and Russian army, which undertook to train German army units in the use of arms.¹³⁰

On 14 November 1922 Germany appealed for a four years' postponement of payments and for a final fixing of its total liability, which was necessary to restore German credit and confidence in the mark. British and French views were opposed and finally a resolution of the reparations commission, the following month, declared Germany in default. This declaration of Germany's default was the justification for the Franco-Belgian occupation of the Ruhr in January 1923.¹³¹ The occupation was met by a general strike financed by government printing of money. The result was the final collapse of German credit and the German mark. Germany's bitterness and despair found expression in the expansion of the Communist party but still more in the rise of

Hitlerism.¹³² Meanwhile, in December 1922, the United States Secretary of State, Charles E. Hughes, had suggested that a committee of experts should be appointed to make recommendations about the reparations problem. Thus, the Dawes committee was established. The Dawes plan fixed only the maximum that Germany could be required to pay annually, but it did not fix the number of years for which Germany should pay or the total sum. Confidence in the German economy was restored by fixing a maximum annual liability, by making the question of transfer an Allied not a German responsibility and by raising an external loan for Germany of eight hundred million marks.¹³³

Improvement in French-German relations after the temporary Dawes settlement of the reparations problem resulted in the western guarantee system of the Locarno treaties, a complex of agreements, which were initialed on 16 October 1925 and signed on 1 December. They comprised a Western Pact of Mutual Guarantee under which the French-German frontier and the demilitarized zone of the Rhineland were declared permanent and inviolable and were guaranteed by Britain and Italy. A Draft Collective Note from the Great Powers embodying the article 16 interpretation; arbitration convention between Germany on the one hand and France, Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia on the other together with French-Polish and French-Czech treaties of Mutual Guarantee in the case of failure of the foregoing agreement were all provided.¹³⁴ The stabilization of Germany's western frontier under British and Italian guarantee with no equivalent stabilization in the east aroused Polish fears that German eyes might be turned eastwards. Moreover, the improvement in French-German relations and the prospect of further collaboration between France and Germany in the Council of the League of Nations weakened the foundations of the French-Polish Alliance, so long as Polish-German relations remained bad. The wrangle ended in

1926 by making Poland and Spain eligible for immediate re-election to the Council and thus giving them semi-permanent status.¹³⁵

A combination of circumstances between the years 1928 and 1929 reopened the question of reparations. The United States of America became concerned about the amount of the American capital flowing into Germany. France had made a funding agreement with the United States by which it was to make payments on its war debts over a period of sixty-two years and knowing its debt liability, France wanted a permanent settlement of Germany's reparations liability extending over a similar period. Germany was willing to bargain a reparations settlement for an early evacuation of the occupied zones of the Rhineland. These considerations led to the convening of the Young committee in 1929. Agreement was reached in January 1930 and in May of the same year the Young plan came into force and superseded Dawes. According to Young's plan, Germany should pay the amount of 2,050 million pounds to be paid over fifty-eight years.¹³⁶ But this date was already six months after the crash on Wall Street, which had launched the World Economic Crisis. The crisis soon produced financial collapse in Vienna and by the mid-1931 a similar disaster threatened Berlin. In June 1931, President Hoover proposed a year's moratorium on all war debts and reparations payments. The proposal was immediately accepted by Britain, but France feared that in this way German payments would never resume on the same scale and that it would find itself still saddled with war-debt obligations when reparations payments had come to an end.¹³⁷ An agreement was eventually reached between France and Germany in July 1932. The agreement provided for the compounding of all German's reparations liabilities in a single payment of 150 million pounds. In December 1932 debt installments were paid by some countries, including Britain, but many others, including France and Belgium, defaulted. The following year, Britain and Italy made token payments, declaring that they were not able to pay in full, but did not wish to prejudice

agreements by defaulting. In April 1934, the Johnson Act prohibited the United States citizens from dealing in the foreign securities of defaulting countries. All countries except Finland defaulted in June 1934. Without any war-debt agreements the Lausanne treaty was never ratified and since Hitler came to power in January 1933, the 150 million pounds were never paid. The war reparations produced much German bitterness, which was exploited by the nationalists and by Hitler and which intensified French fears of Germany.¹³⁸

Back again to the French policy in the Balkans, France as the strongest European power in the immediate postwar period took the lead in the reorganisation of Europe and sought subscription to a firm alliance of the states that had benefited by the peace treaties against those, which could be expected to seek revision of the settlement. In Eastern Europe, four states clearly qualified as firm allies: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia. They were all victors, but faced significant minority problems.¹³⁹ Moreover, like France, all these states appreciated the necessity of standing together in defense of territories. On 14 August 1920 Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia signed an alliance primarily directed against Hungary. After the attempt of King Charles, the last Habsburg Emperor, to regain his throne in Hungary in 1921, the states made further agreements. On 23 April 1921 Czechoslovakia and Rumania concluded a treaty, which was followed by a convention between Yugoslavia and Rumania on 7 June 1921. These pacts were primarily defensive alliances directed against Hungary and Bulgaria and formed the foundations of the 'Little Entente'.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, on 19 February 1921, a French-Polish treaty was concluded by which both parties pledged themselves to consult each other in all questions of foreign policy, so far as those questions affected the settlement of international relations in the spirit of the treaties and a similar treaty was concluded on 3 March 1921 between Poland and Rumania. The whole system was linked under the 'Quai d' Orsay' and had the firm

support of France, which signed separate treaties with Poland in 1921, with Czechoslovakia in 1924, with Rumania in 1926 and with Yugoslavia in 1927. The entire system was directed against both Russia and Germany.¹⁴¹ These treaties, which seemed to establish a French hegemony in Europe, were not welcome to the British government. It should first be noted that after the Great War French and British interests divided and Britain was not amenable to French diplomatic efforts in Europe.¹⁴² France's withdrawal from any aspiration to control of the Eastern Mediterranean resulted from its increasing interest in Eastern Europe and especially in those states that could establish a zone of security between France, Germany and Russia. The 'Little Entente' would play an important part in the implementation of the treaties' terms and restriction of revisionism in Southeastern Europe. In addition, Paris realized that Yugoslavia, which had substantially expanded, was strong enough to secure territorial integrity and play the additional role in regional defence.¹⁴³

In the 1920s, friendly relations between Greece and France went through a crisis. The Franco-Yugoslav alliance was not the only event that resulted in turn for the worse in Greco-French relations. In fact, the relations between the two states were deleteriously affected when France favoured Turkey and Mustafa Kemal Ataturk during the Greek expedition to Asia Minor (1919-1922). Finally, relations were to be established in the following years but they never reached the earlier point of mutual trust and friendship.¹⁴⁴ It is significant that since 1924, the French foreign policy favoured the re-establishment of Greek-Yugoslav relations with the proviso that Greece entered into concessions, which indeed would deprive it of substantial profits anticipated.¹⁴⁵ Moreover, the settlement of Greece's pending war debts to France an issue mooted in June 1927 resulted in a serious conflict between the two sides.¹⁴⁶ The French government demanded that the discharge of Greek debts takes place at the rate of the franc in force during the time of materials' dispatch. The dispute took a turn

for the worse when the French government regarded the settlement of the dispute as a precondition for acceptance of the Greek demand for the raise of a new bank loan, by decision of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations.¹⁴⁷ Under French pressure, the Greek government acquiesced in clearing up debts and thus negotiations reopened due to British government's involvement on the promise that the Italian government put strong pressure on the French Foreign Minister, Aristide Briand, who finally convinced the President of the French Republic, to accept the Greek proposal for settlement of the dispute by arbitration. The final agreement between Greece and France was signed in Geneva on 9 December 1927.¹⁴⁸ Public opinion in Greece was, however, adversely affected by the French attitude and public discontent was expressed in many ways. It is no accident that in the same period of time, Andreas Michalakopoulos, the Greek Foreign Minister, sought immediate re-establishment of ties between Greece and Italy, a move that showed open distrust of France.¹⁴⁹

Of the revisionist states, the potentially most dangerous was Russia for its leadership opposed not only the territorial settlement, but also the political and social order of Europe. Germany, similarly sought changes in the territorial, economic and military sections of the treaties, but its government did not stand for a policy of social and political revolution. Using the argument of self-determination, German nationalists attacked the agreements that put large blocs of Germans under Polish and Czech control and they sought union with Austria, whose population favoured a similar action at that time.¹⁵⁰ In Central and Southeastern Europe, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria were revisionist states while in the interior of Yugoslavia the majority of Croats were similarly dissatisfied with their position. Furthermore, Albania was discontented with both its borders and its international position. It was thus obvious that there was a vast potential for trouble in the Balkan Peninsula. With neither Germany nor Russia in a position to exploit this situation, the leadership of the camp of the discontented states in

the Balkans and Central Europe fell to the weakest of the Great Powers, Italy whose interwar policies are now considered.¹⁵¹

1.4 Italy's role in the Balkan Peninsula and Greek-Italian relations

Although a victor in the Great War, the Italian government was not happy with the peace settlement. 'Self-determination' or 'national unification', were no longer among its aims. The goal was the construction of a Mediterranean empire that would both challenge and emulate the imperial rule of Britain and France. As far as Southeastern Europe was concerned, this policy included the domination of the Adriatic and the exerting of major influence in the Balkan Peninsula. In the 1920s Italy was on bad terms with both Yugoslavia and Greece, with whom it had quarrels dating from the time of the peace negotiations.¹⁵² Tension was particularly high with Belgrade. In the London Treaty of 1915, the Italian government had been promised large areas inhabited by South Slavs. Finally, Italy obtained Istria, but not Dalmatia. A conflict also arose over the port of Rijeka. In November 1920 the Italian and Yugoslav governments signed the Treaty of Rapallo, which intended to settle frontier issues. Italy received the port of Zadar, and Rijeka was to be independent.¹⁵³ However, in 1922, Rijeka was seized by a group led by the Italian poet Gabriele d'Annunzio who proceeded to set up a 'regime'. Italian troops subsequently occupied it, and in January 1924 the Yugoslav government accepted the Italian annexation.¹⁵⁴ Italian expansionist policies were further stimulated by the accession to power of Benito Mussolini in October 1922. Thereafter his fascist regime undertook an open programme of conquest with the ultimate aim of establishing a new Roman Empire in the Mediterranean. The obvious policy for Italy to adopt was the organization and encouragement of the states that stood outside the French alliance system: Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria. In addition, assistance was given to émigré Croatian and Macedonian groups that were in

opposition to the Yugoslav government.¹⁵⁵ An active policy was immediately embarked upon when in August 1923 members of the Italian delegation to a commission delimiting the Greek-Albanian border were murdered. The Italian government delivered an ultimatum to Greece and Corfu was occupied. After the Greek appeal to the League of Nations, a settlement was arranged that provided for the Italian evacuation of the island.¹⁵⁶ France stood as the principal power blocking Italian expansionism. Therefore, in the 1920s, French-Italian relations went into crisis and open rivalry between Italy and Francophile Yugoslavia followed.¹⁵⁷

Seemingly grandiose, Mussolini's foreign policy aims were actually very much in keeping with earlier Italian desires. Like his predecessors, the Duce thought the time was ripe for Italian moves in Southeastern Europe. The dissolution of Austria-Hungary, the military defeat of Germany and the collapse of Russia had removed from the scene the three states that had played an important political role in Southeastern Europe prior to 1914.¹⁵⁸ With Italy territorially enlarged, its northern frontiers secure and the Austrian threat removed, Rome desired that Italy's political influence also be increased, to be commensurate with its greater role in world affairs. Thus, one of the essential points of Italian policy was the establishment of Italian control of the Adriatic and ultimately of the Mediterranean. Though economic moves were of importance, political and strategic considerations dominated the implementation of this objective.¹⁵⁹ The immediate objectives of the new fascist government were clear. Firstly, the settlement of the 'Fiume' question which, unsolved since 1919, had greatly strained Italian-Yugoslav relations and secondly, the establishment by Rome of a paramount position in Albania. By this latter action it was hoped that the eastern shores of the Strait of Otranto would come into Italian hands and thus exit from and entrance into the Adriatic would be under firm Italian control, turning this body of water into an Italian lake.¹⁶⁰

However, Mussolini's aims did not go unchallenged. Yugoslavia viewed these designs as a threat to its interests and had no wish to renounce its own claims in the northern Adriatic. This clash in the north repeated itself farther down the coast in Albania. Here the situation was quite complicated by Yugoslav territorial ambitions in Albania. In consequence, Belgrade took alarm at an Italian hegemony in Albania or at an Albania under strong Italian influence.¹⁶¹ Greece also shared Yugoslavia's attitude. Though Athens had no direct interest in the northern Adriatic, it did have territorial demands on southern Albania, known also as northern Epirus, and on Italy because of its continuing occupation of the Greek-populated Dodecanese islands in Eastern Mediterranean. Likewise, Yugoslavia desired to thwart any Italian control of the eastern shores of the Otranto Strait and of exit from and entrance to the Adriatic.¹⁶² This situation was in turn complicated by French interests in the region. The 'Quai d'Orsay' desired to establish groups of small states that would support France's foreign policy of maintaining the frontiers and hence the *status quo* legalized by the Paris Treaty of 1919. In accordance with this policy, Yugoslavia appeared to be the hub around which a ring of states could be organized in the Balkans. Paris, therefore, did every possible effort to strengthen Yugoslavia and to help it settle differences with the neighbouring states.¹⁶³ Rome on the other hand instinctively felt that this policy was an intrusion into an area where it had many more interests than France. It viewed any grouping of Balkan states under French patronage with Yugoslavia as its nucleus as a possible threat to its eastern seaboard. Rome considered a Balkan alliance to be a replacement of the former Austro-Hungarian threat, establishing a potentially strong antagonist in any adventure in the Adriatic. Italian policy therefore was to make every effort to frustrate a Balkan alliance.¹⁶⁴

In this task Rome found an immediate ally in Bulgaria. Since Bulgaria was one of the defeated states, its acceptance into the French allied system provided

renunciation of its territorial claims on Yugoslavia and Greece and acceptance of the treaty of Neuilly. In consequence, Bulgaria was a good ally for Italy against Yugoslavia and Greece and tension in the area lent assistance to Italy's desires.¹⁶⁵ What actually facilitated Italy's aspirations was Greece's diplomatic isolation and its economical exhaustion after the ill-fated invasion to Turkish Anatolia, an invasion whose consequences would rankle in Greece for the following years and made impossible for almost a decade Greek-Turkish rapprochement. Furthermore, the old warmth between Greece and Yugoslavia had disappeared and Belgrade's demand for some sort of an access to the Aegean generated increasing dispute between the two sides.¹⁶⁶ Thus, in accordance with its foreign policy in the revisionist states, Italy agreed a treaty with Hungary in April 1927. Hungary as one of the defeated states found itself in a position similar to that of Bulgaria: unable to accept a role in any allied system without undercutting its own policies. It viewed Italy as an understanding friend and a potential supporter in rectifying its borders and in liquidating some of the most onerous clauses of the Trianon treaty.¹⁶⁷ The Italian-Hungarian rapprochement was followed by an agreement with Austria in 1930 and thus Rome's dream of the Italian flag waving in the Brenner Pass and a weak Austria under Italian influence became reality.¹⁶⁸ Furthermore, in 1930, King Boris of Bulgaria married Princess Giovanna of the Italian House of Savoy. This alliance system was to be strengthened in the 1930s, when Italy entered into partnership with Nazi Germany¹⁶⁹

The major Italian interest, however, was in Albania. Although only the island of Saseno had been given to Italy in the treaties, the powers had recognized the special Italian position in Albanian affairs, which meant in effect that they recognized an Italian protectorate over the country.¹⁷⁰ The fact that Albania did not possess the material and moral resources indispensable to the adoption of its own domestic policy led it inevitably to protracted internal unrest. Immediately after his establishment in power in

the end of 1924, Ahmet Zoghu found himself in pressing need of money. At first he turned to Yugoslavia who had given support to his restoration. Yugoslavia, however, had no money available. Thereupon, he applied to the League of Nations. But it was impossible for the League to recommend a loan, which was not justifiable on financial grounds.¹⁷¹ Zoghu was compelled to turn to Italy the only Great Power which had political interests in Albania and which gladly awaited this moment. Immediately the 'Banka Comberate e Shqipnis' was established mainly after support by the 'Credito Italiano'. In the following year the former bank set up the 'Societa per lo Sviluppo Economico dell' Albania', which offered Albania a loan of 50 million gold francs for the economic development of the country.¹⁷²

Side by side with this, Mussolini's special envoy, Baron Aloisi, arrived in Tirana and submitted the following demands to Zoghu: a) recognition of Italian protection, b) withdrawal of the British Mission, which was organizing the gendarmerie, and c) control of the country's finances. Zoghu was threatened both by economic bankruptcy and by a revolution, which had broken out in Scutari. All these events resulted in the signing of the treaty of Tirana on 27 November 1926.¹⁷³ By an exchange of notes, which took place a few months later, on 26 April 1927 Italy and Albania undertook not to enter into negotiations for the interpretations of the treaty of Tirana with any state whatever without the full assent of the other signatory. Thus, by the Tirana treaty and subsequent agreements Albania forfeited a great part of its independence.¹⁷⁴ Furthermore, rapprochement with Turkey and the signing of a treaty with it was not beyond Italy's grandiose plans. The Italian-Turkish treaty of neutrality, conciliation and juridical settlement, which was agreed on 30 March 1928, affirmed the Italian government's desire to strengthen its political prestige and facilitate economic insinuation into the area of Asia Minor.¹⁷⁵

Concerning Greek-Italian relations, the 1923 Corfu incident, which resulted from a sequence of events, had an adverse impact on relations between the two states. The establishment of the Albanian state after the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) left the delimitation of its borders as one of the unresolved issues facing the Great Powers when Europe went to war in 1914.¹⁷⁶ However, the northern Albanian border had been delimited by the northern Delimitation Committee, which was appointed by the London Conference of Ambassadors.¹⁷⁷ The southern Delimitation Committee established a boundary line, which ran in a general southwest-northeast direction, passing about forty kilometers north of the town of Ioannina in Greece.¹⁷⁸ The outbreak of the Great War suspended the work of the border's delimitation on the spot.¹⁷⁹ Soon after the end of hostilities, the Albanian government unsuccessfully appealed to the Paris Peace Conference for the settlement of its border. With Albania's frontiers still unfixed and border disputes increasing, on 6 June 1921, the British government announced that the Conference of Ambassadors had decided to fix the new frontiers of Albania. During the meeting of the Council of the Nations' League, the Albanian delegate maintained that his country frontiers, as established in 1913, were still valid and therefore demanded that the Council dispatch a Commission of Inquiry to Albania.¹⁸⁰

The Greek and Yugoslav representatives, however, asserted that the London decisions of 1913 had been nullified by later events and consequently their frontiers with Albania had to be redefined. After long deliberations and associated tensions, the Conference of Ambassadors appointed an on the spot Delimitation Committee to mark out the boundary. Albania, Greece and Yugoslavia were required to accede to the decision. The President of the Delimitation Committee was the Italian General Enrico Tellini whose relationship with the Greek government and the Greek delegate was extremely strained. The Greek delegate felt that General Tellini was prejudiced against

Greece and partial to the Albanian point of view.¹⁸¹ It should be noted that the area in which the Committee of Delimitation was working was renowned for rampant banditry. Furthermore, anarchy and blood feuds were common in the area. Because of the primitiveness of the region and the local passions, the power and authority of both the Greek and Albanian gendarmerie were limited. The possibility of a frontier incident was close.¹⁸² On 27 August 1923 General Tellini and his staff were murdered. The news came like a bombshell. The Greek government felt that the murder was a disaster and the culprits had to be captured regardless of their nationality.¹⁸³ Mussolini's response to the tragedy was violent. He instructed Giulio Cesare Montagna, the Italian Minister in Athens, to make 'the most energetic protest' to the Greek government¹⁸⁴ and on 28 August 1923, he announced his demands to the Greek government.¹⁸⁵ The public announcement of Tellini's murder produced the 'greatest indignation' in Italy. The Italian press was extremely aggressive and the public reacted to 'winding-up' by press.¹⁸⁶ In many Italian cities violent demonstrations occurred, directed against Greek-owned establishments while the Greek Consulates in Naples and Catania were attacked.¹⁸⁷ Upon receipt of the Italian demands, which, in essence, imputed Greek responsibility for the murder, the Greek cabinet strongly protested against the allegation that Greece was guilty of an offence against Italy and considered appealing to the League of Nations. The demands were rejected. As soon as the rejection was notified to the Italian government, orders were issued by Rome to Admiral Emilio Solari, Commander of the Italian navy, on 31 August 1923, to proceed immediately and occupy the island of Corfu.¹⁸⁸

In Athens the news that the Italian fleet would occupy the Island reached firstly the Revolutionary Committee, and Colonel Nikolaos Plastiras ordered resistance. However, the Greek Premier Colonel Stylianos Gonatas and the Foreign Minister Alexandris, who both realized that Greece was not in a position to offer resistance,

hurried to avert this precipitate action on the part of Colonel Plastiras.¹⁸⁹ Burdened as it was by the influx of over a million Greek refugees from Asia Minor, exhausted by almost ten years of continuous warfare, in the midst of a constitutional crisis and divided politically, any act of resistance would be national suicide.¹⁹⁰ Consequently, Greece had to appeal for justice to the League of Nations. In the early 1923, the Conference of Ambassadors took place in Paris, at the very hour that the League Council met in Geneva. After long deliberations, the Conference, taking note of the fact that Italy promised to evacuate Corfu as soon as the demands of the Conference were satisfied, issued details of the reparations that the Greek government had to make.¹⁹¹ Relieved that a solution was within sight, Greece accepted the Conference's demands, and insisted upon the evacuation of Corfu. With reports from London, Paris, and Geneva in hand, Mussolini's hour for decision had arrived. Fully aware of Britain's hostility and the limits of French support, Mussolini agreed to fix a specific date for the evacuation of the island. As an alternative to the evacuation of the island Italy set a condition: a penalty of fifty million Italian lire should be paid by Greece.¹⁹² A Committee of Inquiry arrived in Greece. In their report, the members of the Committee noted failure concerning the conduct of the inquiry by the Greek authorities and the Conference of Ambassadors concluded that a penalty of fifty million Italian lire should be paid to the Italian government. The penalty was paid. On 29 September 1923 the Italian squadron returned to Italy. Corfu was back in Greek hands.¹⁹³

Soon after the Corfu incident a distinguished Greek economist, Andreas Andreades, argued that the Greco-Italian dispute was not the consequence of opposed interests. On the contrary, there were prospects for a fruitful collaboration between Greece and Italy at both financial and political level.¹⁹⁴ The first initiatives in the improvement of Greco-Italian relations were taken by the dictator Pangalos in the years 1925 and 1926.¹⁹⁵ After the collapse of the Pangalos' regime, the Italian government

hastened to propose a treaty of arbitration between Greece and Italy. The 1926 Greco-Italian trade agreement paved the way for a closer financial collaboration and provided the possibility of future political agreement.¹⁹⁶ In July 1927, the Greek Foreign Minister Andreas Michalakopoulos, soon after the resumption of his duties and George Kafandares, Minister of Finance from 1926 to 1928, paid a visit to Rome. They both aspired to a close financial cooperation with Italy and the Italian support of the Greek demand for a bank loan from the League of Nations.¹⁹⁷ The Greco-Italian relations entered a new phase when, by the end of 1927, Andreas Michalakopoulos, the Greek Foreign Minister, coming back to Athens from Geneva, took the opportunity to meet Mussolini.¹⁹⁸ Discussions between the Greek Foreign Minister and the Italian Premier paved the way for the Greco-Italian treaty of September 1928 agreed by Venizelos and Mussolini.¹⁹⁹ In late 1927, Greece's concern was focused on the newly signed French-Yugoslav treaty. Greece was worried by the undisguised intervention in the Balkans on the part of the Great Powers and stressed the possibility of their exertion of pressure and influence on the Balkan alliances. Furthermore, Italy put serious obstacles to the way of any rapprochement between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.²⁰⁰ Sir Percy Loraine, the British Ambassador in Athens, characterized the Italian policy in Albania as 'sound and reasonable', a statement which indicated that Mussolini's policy in the Balkans met with the approval of the British government.²⁰¹ Re-establishment of relations between Greece and the Great Powers now will be outlined.

1.5 Re-establishment of relations between Greece and the Great Powers

Efforts at the re-establishment of relations between Greece and the Great Powers were initiated as soon as Eleftherios Venizelos resumed the reigns of government in Greece in August 1928.²⁰² Venizelos, a politician man of vision, who dominated the political life in Greece in the early twentieth century, placed his

considerable political skills and consummate mastery of diplomatic technique at the service of peace and cooperation in the Balkan Peninsula during his third premiership from 1928 until 1932. The preservation of friendship with Britain and France, re-establishment of relationships with Italy and the Balkan neighbours and agreement with Turkey took precedence over all other issues. These ambitions were by no means easy to realize. The return of Venizelos to the premiership in 1928 opened up a new era in relations between Greece and its neighbours, inasmuch as it had, at last, acquired a strong government ready to adopt fresh foreign and domestic policies and make immediate decisions.²⁰³ From 1920 until 1928, the years Venizelos lived in Paris and then in London, the country experienced political instability with the result that the Greek people had little confidence in government and relations with Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Turkey increasingly worsened. This was not all. Relationships with Italy, following the Corfu incident in 1923, were particularly bad. In the parliamentary elections of 19th August 1928, Venizelos polled the majority of votes. Clearly much of the country was behind him.²⁰⁴ From the beginning, his foreign policy focused on the respect of the territorial *status quo*. He was opposed to revisionism and absolutely dedicated to peace except in case of unprovoked attack. The Greek Premier aspired to avoid foreign entanglements that would either align Greece with some of the Great Powers or might compel it to rely on a Great Power. Furthermore, the establishment of friendly relations with the Balkan neighbours was priority.²⁰⁵

Initially, his return to government provoked uneasy feelings in the major European governments due to the uncompromising policies Venizelos had adopted in the past regarding the national interests. Strange to relate, in the late 1920s, Britain had altered its steadily friendly attitude towards Venizelos, a good friend of it for many years. It appeared that the British were unsure about the policies the Greek Premier would now adopt and anticipated the aggravation of the political dispute in Greece. For

this reason, Austen Chamberlain, the British Foreign Minister, described Venizelos' return to politics as 'completely disappointing'.²⁰⁶ In fact, his relations with S. Baldwin's government were embittered by the unfavourable position taken by Winston Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the settlement of war debts between the Greek and the British government in London in 1927.²⁰⁷ On the other hand, France anticipated that the attempt at the political rapprochement between Greece and Italy would finally fail and hoped for Greece's agreement to the French-Yugoslav alliance.²⁰⁸ More importantly, the exit of Andreas Michalakopoulos from Venizelos government, a politician well disposed towards Italy and the fact that France and Britain were given preference over Italy, had a bad impact on Greek-Italian relations.²⁰⁹ Mario Arlotta, the Italian Ambassador in Athens, was particularly circumspect about the Greek Premier's intentions when the latter sought to meet him in an effort to dissipate Rome's doubts and to pave the way for a Greek-Italian agreement.²¹⁰

One of the most difficult tasks Venizelos had to accomplish was to persuade London, Paris and Belgrade that the establishment of diplomatic relations with Rome signified no alienation of Athens from its traditional friends. He made clear from the beginning that he would utilise the potential agreement with Italy to compel Yugoslavia to waive excessive claims on Greece and to accept his own conditions for a treaty between the two sides.²¹¹ Although the prerequisites for successful negotiations between Rome and Athens had been well prepared by Andreas Michalakopoulos, the Greek Foreign Minister, in late 1927, however, Venizelos' initial effort to the restoration of good fellowship between Italy and Greece, did not initially meet positive response.²¹² Nonetheless, Greco-Italian relations would be soon restored due to the strong determination the Greek Premier displayed. The appointment of Alexander Karapanos, former Ambassador in Rome, a man, who was highly esteemed by the Italian government, as Foreign Minister, was the first sure step in achieving the Greco-Italian

rapprochement. Karapanos' first concern, as soon as he assumed his duties, was to clarify to the Italian Ambassador in Athens that Venizelos' foreign policy did not, in essence, deviate from the political line Michalakopoulos had pursued.²¹³ For this reason, it was a suitable time for the Greek Premier to meet Mario Arlotta, the Italian Ambassador in Athens, and discuss with him his intention to visit Rome for the purpose of concluding a Greco-Italian agreement. His visit to Rome was to be followed by a visit to Paris.²¹⁴ Venizelos aspired to remove the obstacles and dissipate Mussolini's doubts. He was successful. During Venizelos' visit to Italy, Mussolini expressed unqualified satisfaction with the initiative taken by his Greek opposite number and the unambiguous attitude of Greece towards Italy.²¹⁵ The two sides thus entered into fresh negotiations and the draft of the treaty submitted to the Italian government was fully accepted.²¹⁶ The Greco-Italian treaty of amity, reconciliation and juridical settlement was eventually agreed in Rome on 23rd September 1928.²¹⁷

Under the terms of the treaty, the signatories, who had declared adherence to the principles of the League of Nations and had agreed that their dispute would be peacefully settled without resort to war, would foster both political and commercial cooperation.²¹⁸ Italy, in accordance with article three of the agreement, would offer military support to protect Greece in case of external threat. Concerning this crucial matter, Venizelos insisted on a clear and accurate formulation of the final text a position that revealed his profound anxiety about the Yugoslav claims on the port of Thessaloniki.²¹⁹ The discussions between Venizelos and Mussolini aimed at a political rapprochement that could ensure the vital interests of both sides. In consequence, the talks focused particularly on the unreserved Italian support of Greece at diplomatic level and on relations between Greece, France and Britain.²²⁰ The desire for the preservation of good fellowship between Greece and the Great Powers and the unconditional cooperation with their satellites in the Balkan Peninsula, stimulated the

Greek Premier to reject on principle any tempting proposal for a treaty of alliance with Italy. Thus Italy did not get all it wanted, but Greece got much of what it wanted.²²¹ In Paris, Venizelos had the chance to meet Vodislav Marinkovic, the Yugoslav Foreign Minister, who was in the French capital for reasons of health. At the unofficial talks between the two men, a swing in Yugoslavia's position on outstanding questions was evident. Marinkovic admitted that most of the Yugoslav demands, which had been emanated from the 1926 agreement, were immoderate. He attempted, however, to elicit the promise that, in case of war against enemies other than Greece, the transport of ammunition to Yugoslavia via Thessaloniki would be permitted. The Greek Prime Minister diplomatically avoided giving a promise.²²²

On 30 September 1928, Venizelos left Paris and travelled to London. Baron Oliver Harvey, British diplomat, in his report on Greco-British relationships, a report made at Lord Cushendun's request, Foreign Secretary in Chamberlain's absence, emphasized two crucial points. The first one concerned the positive position of the British government on the Greco-Italian treaty. The second touched on London's concern for the interests of the British companies in Greece.²²³ Venizelos met no serious difficulty in persuading the British rulers of his good intentions. The British government realised that the rapprochement between Greece and Italy, under the terms of the League of Nations, was no threat to British interests in the Eastern Mediterranean.²²⁴ Sir Percy Loraine stated, in late 1928, that he had no doubt about Venizelos' reliability and his good intentions. Loraine also remarked that the Greek Premier maintained a firm reliable position despite the fact that relations between the Greek government and the British Power and Traction Company had reached a critical stage.²²⁵ This complex and strenuous diplomatic effort was part of a strategy for peace in the Balkans that included cultural dimensions to be discussed shortly. One of these

cultural dimensions, of course, was the use of sport as an instrument of diplomatic rapprochement and the creation of the Balkan Games as key of this instrument.

Conclusion

By late 1928, five years after the signing of the Lausanne treaty, Greece remained diplomatically isolated and unable to establish friendly relations with the Balkan states on equal terms and without mortgaging its national future. The Bulgarian intransigent attitude towards every Greek proposal for a financial and trade agreement and collaboration, Turkey's pressure over outstanding issues concerning indemnities resulting from the exchange of populations along with Yugoslavia's claims particularly on the Free Zone in the port of Thessaloniki, all aimed at Greek concession. Regarding the Greco-Yugoslav dispute, the intentions of the two sides remained quite apart. Greece desired the settlement of every issue touching on the Free Zone in the port of Thessaloniki and the right to run the railway from Thessaloniki to Gevgeli in Yugoslavia in a way that its sovereignty would not be affected. Yugoslavia sought to secure the transfer of ordnance via Thessaloniki. In such unfavourable circumstances, the Greek foreign policy was focused on the preservation of national security and the achievement of consistent cooperation between it and the neighbouring states whenever this was feasibility. That policy was first adopted by the Greek Foreign Minister Andreas Michalakopoulos in 1927-1928.²²⁶ However, the British Ambassador in Athens, Sir Percy Loraine was not optimistic about the future in the area. He remarked that the Balkan Peninsula had not seen an end to a situation of fluidity and neither the Balkan peoples nor their leaders had adequately understood the catalytic changes that had taken place in the region in the 1920s.²²⁷ The impasse in relationships between Greece and the neighbouring states was eventually overcome, to a great extent, thanks to Venizelos' conciliatory policies from August 1928. The years of his

self-imposed exile in Paris and London (1920-1927) afforded him the opportunity to reappraise his policies of the past and assess the interests and susceptibilities of the Great Powers and the Balkan states. Sir Percy Loraine was the first to report that Venizelos profoundly desired and sought good fellowship, unity and understanding and was amenable to the reduction of friction in the Balkans. The British Ambassador also pointed out that the Greek Premier, who had gained worldwide reputation resulting from unique virtues such as determination, perceptiveness, cogency and insistence, could crown his effort with success.²²⁸ As early as September 1928, the Greek-Italian treaty of amity became the first beneficial outcome of Venizelos' moderate foreign policy. Although the bilateral agreement provided for neutrality in the event that one of the two signatories suffered an attack, however, Mussolini offered a guarantee of the Greek sovereignty in Macedonia. Athens not only endeavoured to suspend the Yugoslav demands, but it also sought strong grounds to secure its diplomatic position in the Balkans and Europe. The agreement with Italy was, in essence, a symbolic move with long-term political ends. To achieve his goal, the Greek Premier set the enmity of the past aside and waived vital national questions like the union of the Dodecanese, which were under Italian occupation, with Greece.

The agreement with Rome was skillfully utilised by Athens to reinforce its diplomatic position. During his visit to Paris, the Greek Premier called the attention of Aristide Briand to the Yugoslav claims, which would ultimately compel Greece to apply for the Italian support. As a result and after French pressure, the Yugoslavs waived demands for free transport of military supplies via Thessaloniki, in case of war, and dropped the claims for extension of the trade prerogatives in the Free Zone at the port of Thessaloniki. Two protocols were agreed in Belgrade on 11 October 1928, which settled questions concerning the Free Zone and the Thessaloniki-Gevgeli railway with complete respect for the Greek sovereignty. Rapprochement with Turkey met strong

opposition due to the great deal of concessions Greece had to make. The claims on refugees' abandoned properties in Asia Minor were backed down, a fact that generated public indignation. Designs for naval supremacy were also relinquished and Greece came under the obligation to pay to Turkey a non-inconsiderable sum of money as indemnity. In point of fact, Venizelos hoped that Greece would be able to walk down the road of progress and recovery in conditions of peace and good fellowship with the neighbouring states. In consequence, he renounced territorial claims and withdrew from the ambitious plans of the past in an effort to restore trust and amity, to reduce the expenditure on armaments and establish diplomatic and trade relations. Crucial economic differences put obstacles in the way of Greco-Bulgarian rapprochement. Sofia insisted on keeping the Macedonian question alive and ignored Venizelos' proposal for a Free Zone at the port of Thessaloniki or Alexandroupolis. Some progress was made in January 1930 when a Convention was agreed, which attempted to settle financial obligations that had been arisen from the exchange of populations. Regrettably, the Great Depression and the Hoover Plan for one-year moratorium of international debts released Bulgaria from payment of war reparations to Greece. In response, the Greek government refused compensations, which entailed an onerous burden on Greece and were provided by the 'Kafandares-Mollof' agreement. In addition, the financial dispute acted as a brake to the renewal of the trade convention agreed in previous years and which eventually expired in the late 1931.

Although the rapprochement between Greece and Bulgaria could effectively influence the developments in the Balkans in the 1930s, regrettably, this was not achieved for more reasons than one. The Great Powers came to play a decisive role in this case. Britain, at least ostensibly, did not seek interference in the Balkan affairs and supported the motto 'the Balkans to the Balkan peoples'. The British government believed that Bulgaria could climb down from claims and peace could be consolidated

in the region if trans-national differences were definitely settled. In contrast to Britain, France supported the 'Little Entente' whereas Italy suspected that the political agreements among the Balkan states strengthened Paris' influence in the Balkans. Athens was particularly circumspect about financial concessions to Bulgaria. The Greek people, after the economic concessions to Turkey, rejected in advance concessions to Bulgaria. In reality, the Great Depression had a bad impact on the economic potential of both countries. For various reasons, the improvement of Greco-Albanian relations in the late 1920s-early 1930s was not of easy attainment. In point of fact, the Venizelos' government did not take great interest in the establishment of political affiliations with Albania inasmuch as the restoration of good diplomatic relations with Turkey and Bulgaria was priority. Therefore, Venizelos had yielded to Turkey's demands and was amenable to some limited concessions to Bulgaria. In the final analysis, public opinion in Greece was not to approve of rapprochement with Albania by means of financial concessions. In 1930, however, Albania appeared to seek political agreement with Greece when its relations with Italy reached a point of high tense due to economic differences.

Policies adopted in the Balkans in the interwar period by the Great Powers, that is Britain, France and Italy, mostly affected inter-Balkan relations and affairs. What urged Great Britain to adopt a foreign policy of no interference in the Balkan affairs even if it wanted to, in the interwar period, can be attributed to a number of reasons. The desire to avoid war, the belief in an international harmony between peoples, an awareness of its weak economic position and its particular dependence upon world peace, a concern about its global obligations and the inability of its military forces to fulfill them together with sensitivity to anti-war public opinion were the main reasons. Britain, steadily losing its dominant role in world affairs, realized that, for a mixture of ethical and pragmatic reasons, conciliatory policies were of greater advantage to the

country than resort to the use of force. In fact, the unsettled domestic political scene and public opinion frightened by the idea of war and sympathetic to the internationalist and pacifist ideals propagated by the League of Nations and other antimilitarist groups, made it impossible for the British government to contemplate involvement in Southeastern European states, though traditionally in favour of the preservation of British influence abroad. However, Britain's unwillingness to become involved in the Balkans or to accept any commitment favoured an expansionist Italian policy. When in 1926 Italy turned Albania into its protectorate, Britain avoided any rupture of relations with Mussolini and confined itself to joint domination over the Mediterranean Sea.²²⁹

By contrast with Britain, the French foreign policy in the interwar period was substantially focused on the preservation of the *status quo* consolidated by the Paris treaties of 1919-1920. France sought to prevent resurgence of Germany, a country with a much larger population than France and potentially much stronger economy. Imposition of war reparations, which were beyond German's economic potential and alliances agreed with victor states were the means France utilized to attain its goal. In fact, France did not confine itself to the League of Nations and formed the 'Little Entente' signing separate treaties with Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia. In this way it hoped to confront every possible threat coming from Germany and restrict Italian expansionism. Rumania and, to a large extent, Yugoslavia became the main vehicles of France's policies in the Balkans. Thus, when Italy set foot on the Balkans by the means of the treaties with Albania in 1926 and 1927, both France and Yugoslavia were much concerned about the fact and its consequences. Rome first sought to avoid conflict with London. However, Britain's inability to intervene and the treaty of alliance between France and Yugoslavia left a gap in the Balkans that Rome hastened to fill by means of agreements with Albania. In addition, Italy's good relations with Bulgaria and Turkey resulted in Italian involvement in Balkans affairs, fact that could not be

overlooked by Greece. However, despite the active diplomatic policies of both France and Italy, no major international crisis occurred in the Balkans in the postwar decade. In fact, for a short period the Balkan Peninsula remained outside the Great Powers' major areas of conflict. The states thus had a brief period of repose in which they could devote their efforts to the solution of the internal problems that had arisen both from the peace settlements and from the social and economic difficulties of the time. In consequence, the Balkan states could seek to settle territorial claims, make the treaties work and adjust to the new conditions and to deal with social problems and financial difficulties.

However, in a period of tension and dispute in the Balkan Peninsula how could sport assist the Balkan peoples in restoring confidence and establishing relations among them? Although the study will later be turning to the relationship between sport and culture-society and diplomacy and to what extent the Balkan Games contributed to a bringing together of the Balkan states, we can in an early stage point out that sport is a cultural bond which links nations across national boundaries, provides common enthusiasm and experience together with opportunities for association, understanding and goodwill. Athletic meetings often bring people together to cheer for the same athletes or teams despite differences related to social class, race, ethnicity, religion, language and culture. Thus, sport can be vehicle for cultural exchanges through which people from different nations share information and develop mutual understanding. Athleticism is not only transnational activity, it can also be instrument of diplomacy and in the scope of foreign policy, sport can be used in specific situation for a particular purpose either to affect public opinion or improve a state's image. A consideration of modern sport in Greece and the rest of the Balkan countries in the period prior to the establishment of the Balkan Games will now be attempted.

Footnotes

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- ¹ Pipinelis, Panagiotis, Historia tes Exoterikis Politikis tes Hellados 1923-1941 (History of the Greek Foreign Policy 1923-1941), Athens: M. Saliverou S.A., 1948, p. 19. The author was Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister of the 1963 caretaker government.
- ² Jelavich, Barbara, History of the Balkans, 2 vols, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, vol. 2, Twentieth Century, 1983, p. 13.
- ³ Ristelhueber, Rene, Histoire des Peuples Balkaniques, Paris: Libraire Artheme Fayard, 1950, pp. 370-376.
- ⁴ Roucek, Joseph S., Balkan Politics: International Relations in no Man's Land, Stanford, California, London: Geoffrey Cumberlege-Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. 80-81.
- ⁵ "Greece, Yugoslavia, and Salonica", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1926, London: Humphrey Milford, 1923-1940, 1928, p. 166.
- ⁶ Karamanlis, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exoterikes mas Schesses, 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), Second Edition, Athens: Papazissi, 1995, p. 26.
- ⁷ Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), Second Edition, 2 vols, Athens: Ikaros, 1974, vol. 1, p. 263.
- ⁸ Tounta-Fergade, Arete, Hellino-Voulgarikes Mionotites: Protokolo Politi-Kalfof 1924-1925 (Greco-Bulgarian Minorities: Polites-Kalfof Protocol 1924-1925), Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1986, pp. 77-81.
- ⁹ Ibid., pp. 94-101, 145-156.
- ¹⁰ Kyrou, Alexes, Oi Valkaniol Gitones mas (Our Balkan Neighbours), Athens: n.n., 1962, pp. 143-148.
- ¹¹ Parliament of Greece, Gazette of the Debates, Fourth Assembly, vol. 4, Athens: National Printing-Office, 1924, pp. 42-79, 90-131; Tounta-Fergade, Arete, Hellino-Voulgarikes Mionotites: Protokolo Politi-Kalfof 1924-1925 (Greco-Bulgarian Minorities: Polites-Kalfof Protocol 1924-1925), op. cit., p. 85; Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), op. cit., p. 264.
- ¹² Tounta-Fergade, Arete, Hellino-Voulgarikes Mionotites: Protokolo Politi-Kalfof 1924-1925 (Greco-Bulgarian Minorities: Polites-Kalfof Protocol 1924-1925), op. cit., pp. 134-144.
- ¹³ "Greece, Yugoslavia, and Salonica", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1926, op. cit., 1928, pp. 166-167.
- ¹⁴ About the question touching on the Free Zone in the port of Thessaloniki, See Dertilis, P.B., La Zone Franche de Salonique et les Accords Greco-Yugoslaves, Paris:

n.n., 1928; Papamichalopoulou, D., He Elefthera Serviki Zoni Thessalonikis (The Free Zone of Thessaloniki), Athens: n.n., 1953.

¹⁵ The most important of the outstanding questions at issue concerned the railway from Thessaloniki to Yugoslavia's hinterland. Inasmuch as part of the railway was under Greek administration, the Greek authorities had the right not only to delay the transit of goods, but also to impose traffic-rates on them. In mid-February 1925, preliminary discussions regarding the renewal of the Greco-Yugoslav alliance began in Athens, and two months later resumed in Belgrade. During these discussions, agreement was actually achieved on every point discussed. The Greek government had no reason to anticipate any difficulty in the conclusion of the projected treaty. Nevertheless, towards the end of May 1925, the Yugoslav delegation put forward further demands involving not only the enlargement of the Free Zone in the port of Thessaloniki, but also the concession of it to Yugoslavia definitively and without reserve, so that it might become a portion of Yugoslav territory. With regard to the Gevgeli-Thessaloniki railway, the Yugoslav government wished to obviate the delays and difficulties and proposed that the line should be handed over to Yugoslavia in full ownership. A special convention assuring protection to the Serbian minority in Greece was an additional Yugoslav demand. Those precise claims were received with indignation in Greece, which was prepared to grant only every kind of commercial facility to Yugoslavia. In consequence, in June 1925, both the Greek and Yugoslav delegates in Belgrade concluded that further negotiations were useless. About Greek-Yugoslav relations, See FO371/12920/Memorandum on the Dispute between Yugoslavia and Greece concerning the Outlet to the Sea in Thessaloniki, the Thessaloniki-Gevgeli Railway, and the Slavophone Minorities in Greek Macedonia, 22 November 1926; FO371/12920, C.H. Bateman, Greco-Serb Relations, 27 January 1928; Foreign Office Papers 1919-1948, Public Record Office, London (hereafter cited as FO), FO371/12924/Annual Report on Greece of the Year 1927, Paras., 62-64; Kyrou, Alexis, Oi Balkaniki Gitones mas (Our Balkan Neighbours), op. cit., pp. 159-174; "Greece, Yugoslavia, and Salonica", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1926, op. cit., 1928, pp. 167-170.

¹⁶ Psomiades, Harry J., "The Diplomacy of Theodoros Pangalos 1925-1926", Balkan Studies, vol. 13, 1972, pp. 3-26.

¹⁷ Pipinelis, Panagiotis, Historia tes Exoterikis Politikis tes Hellados 1923-1941 (History of the Greek Foreign Policy 1923-1941), op. cit., pp. 29-30.

¹⁸ "Greece, Yugoslavia and Salonica: Negotiations between Greece and Yugoslavia over Facilities at the Port of Salonica", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed). Survey of International Affairs 1928, London: Humphrey Milford, 1923-1940, 1929, pp. 183-184.

¹⁹ "Treaty between Greece and Serbia-Croatia-Slovenia for the Settlement of the Transport of Goods via Thessaloniki", Legislative Decree, 2 November 1923, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 315, pp. 2220-2223.

²⁰ "Greece, Yugoslavia and Salonica", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1928, op. cit., p. 183.

²¹ "Greece, Yugoslavia and Salonica", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1928, op. cit., p. 184. Meanwhile on-going negotiations between Italy, Greece and Turkey were clearly a matter of concern to Yugoslavia. The insistence of the Yugoslav Ambassador in London, during his meeting with Howard

Smith of the Foreign Office in April 1928, to be kept informed in some detail about the deliberations among the representatives of the aforementioned states, was a conspicuous proof of Belgrade's anxiety. See FO371/12921/ Howard Smith: A Note about the Conversation with Djourich, London, 11 April 1928.

²² Karamanles, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exoterikes mas Schesses, 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), op. cit., p. 42.

²³ Archives of the Greek Foreign Ministry, Athens (hereafter cited as AFM), AFM, A/3/2/1928, Mauroudes to Michalakopoulos, Rome, 27 May 1928. It is significant that the French Ambassador in Belgrade, in his report on 27 May 1928, mentioned that Vodislav Marinkovic had decided not to conclude a treaty with Greece, a move that would possibly annoy Bulgaria. In consequence, the plans of the Greek Foreign Minister for a rapprochement with Yugoslavia were adversely affected. A year later, in February 1927, Michalakopoulos, in a letter to Venizelos, pointed out that agreement with Yugoslavia was likely to remain in abeyance and it would be extremely difficult for Greece to avoid re-establishing diplomatic relations with Italy. To all intents and purposes, Yugoslavia's unstable attitude towards Greece had a favourable impact on the progress of the Greco-Italian relations in the early 1928. See FO371/12920/ Eastern Part, Memorandum on Greco-Yugoslav Relations, London, 27 January 1928; Archio Venizelou (Venizelos' Archive), Benaki Museum, Athens (hereafter cited as AV), AV, file 328, Michalakopoulos to Venizelos, 24 February 1927; Svolopoulos, Constantinos, Eleftherios Venizelos: 12 Meletimata (Eleftherios Venizelos: 12 Studies), Athens: Hellinika Grammata, 1999, p. 136.

²⁴ "Greco-Bulgarian Treaty for Mutual and Voluntary Exchange of National Minorities, Neuilly 14/27 November 1919", Law 2434, 24 July 1920, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 163, pp. 1415-1420. After the signing of the 1919/1920 Peace Treaty, Europe was divided in two opposite camps: the first one consisted of the countries, which were satisfied with their territorial, political and economic spoils. The second camp was formed by the discontented states, which aspired to the overthrow of the order established by the treaties. Bulgaria was among the countries, which desired nullification of the Neuilly Treaty. See Christopoulos, George, Bulgaria's Record, Chicago, n.n., 1944, p. 60; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, Maria, "Ta Balkania ston Messopolemo (The Balkans in the Interwar Period)", Nea Estia, vol. 136, July-December 1994, pp. 57-58.

²⁵ Jelavich, Barbara, History of the Balkans, op. cit., p. 37; Bell, D. John, Peasants in Power: Alexander Stamboliski and the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, 1899-1923, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977, pp. 188, 194.

²⁶ Pentzopoulos, Dimitris, The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact upon Greece, Paris: Mouton & Co., 1962, p. 60.

²⁷ Panaiotov, Ivan, Greeks and Bulgarians: A Historical Outline, Sofia: Hristo G. Danov, 1946, pp. 62-63.

²⁸ Christopoulos, George, Bulgaria's Record, op. cit., p. 61.

²⁹ Ristelhueber, Rene, Histoire des Peuples Balkaniques, op. cit., pp. 358-359; Pipinelis, Panagiotis, Historia tes Exoterikis Politikis tes Hellados 1923-1941 (History of the Greek Foreign Policy 1923-1941), op. cit., pp. 75-84.

³⁰ To Phos, 8 July 1924.

³¹ Barros, James, The League of Nations and the Great Powers: The Greek-Bulgarian Incident, 1925, London: Oxford University Press, 1970, pp 1-6. The Bulgarian Charge d' Affaires, Ivan Dantcheff, in the morning of 21st of October 1925 met the Greek Foreign Minister, Admiral Alexander Hadjikyriakos. During this meeting, Hadjikyriakos pointed out that the Greek government felt that its national honour had been injured and was only amenable to payment of indemnities to the families of the slain men. Greece hoped that the Bulgarian government would consent to inflict an exemplary punishment on the military commanders responsible, express its regrets and pay an equitable indemnity of six million drachmas to the families of the Greek slain men.

³² The Council's first meeting was held on 26 October 1925. Aristide Briand, President of the League, dominated the discussions. Austen Chamberlain, the British Foreign Office Secretary, suggested that a Committee of Inquiry should be established by the Council League, inasmuch as hostilities had ended. Sir Horace Rumbold, an experienced diplomat, would be appointed as President. Assistance was to be given by the governments of Athens and Sofia. The Council accepted the proposal and agreed that Greek and Bulgarian representatives should be included. See Barros, James, The League of Nations and the Great Powers: The Greek-Bulgarian Incident, 1925, op. cit., pp. 14-23, 84-85.

³³ Barros, James, The League of Nations and the Great Powers: The Greek-Bulgarian Incident, 1925, op. cit., pp. 68-111.

³⁴ The question of the deduction of the war indemnities that Greece owed Bulgaria has not been settled yet. See Barros, James, The League of Nations and the Great Powers: The Greek-Bulgarian Incident, 1925, op. cit., pp. 112-115.

³⁵ Historia tou Hellinikou Ethnous (History of the Greek Nation), 16 vols, Athens: Ekdotiki Athinon, 1974-2000, vol. 15, 1978, p. 344; Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 70-71; Armstrong, Hamilton Fish, "Venizelos again Supreme in Greece", Foreign Affairs, October, 1929, p. 127.

³⁶ FO371/13659/Annual Report on Greece of the year 1928, Paras., 66-70; Svolopoulou, Constantinou, He Helliniki Exoteriki Politiki meta tin Synthiki tes Lozannes: He Kressemi Kambi Ioulios-Dekemvrios 1928 (The Greek Foreign Policy after the Lausanne Treaty: The Critical Turning-Point July-December 1928), Thessaloniki: Scientific Publications-Thessaloniki Institute of International Public Law and International Relations, 1977, p. 22. The Treaty of Neuilly had secured to Bulgaria a commercial outlet to the Aegean and stipulated that this outlet should be at Alexandroupolis. During the Lausanne negotiations, the Allied Powers invited Bulgaria to agree with the proposal. Bulgaria appeared unhappy and the Greek government made a fresh offer. A normal-gauge line could be constructed at the Struma valley from the Bulgarian railway terminus at Petric to Demi Hisar to link Bulgaria with Thessaloniki, where the Bulgarians could have a Free Zone of their own just as the Yugoslavs had the Serbian Free Zone. See Miller, William, "Greece and her Neighbours", Foreign Affairs, April, 1931, p. 492.

³⁷ Eleftheron Vima, 23 July 1928.

³⁸ Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 72-74.

³⁹ Karamanles, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exoterikes mas Schesses, 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), op. cit., p.102.

⁴⁰ FO371/13659/Lorraine, Annual Report of the Year 1928, Para., 71.

⁴¹ FO371/13659/Lorraine, Annual Report of the Year 1928, Para., 72. With regard to Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations in the late 1920s, the rapprochement with Yugoslavia was a matter of great concern for Bulgaria. The re-establishment of relations between the two sides could only be achieved with the proviso that the Yugoslav-Bulgarian border opened. By late 1928, no progress was made due to the Bulgarian intransigence and the Yugoslav claims on the Serbian minority in Bulgarian Macedonia. The friction resulted in terrorism committed by the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization of Bulgaria. Nonetheless, in the early 1929, the dictatorial regime of Yugoslavia, under General Zifkovic, entered into negotiations with the Bulgarian government. The 'Piot' agreement of 16th March 1930 was the beneficial result of the talks. Some side issues touching on the transport of goods via Yugoslav-Bulgarian border were settled by protocols, which accompanied the agreement. It should be noted that France was in favour of the Yugoslav-Bulgarian rapprochement. Rene Massigli of the 'Quai d' Orsay' advised A. Buroff, the Bulgarian Foreign Minister, to intensify the effort to the establishment of diplomatic relationships between the two states. Constantine Dedrames, the Greek Ambassador in Sofia, notified to the government of Athens that the French side had accepted the Yugoslav assertion that there was no Bulgarian minority in Yugoslav Macedonia. In effect, France envisaged the gradual absorption of Bulgaria by Yugoslavia and hoped for the foundation of a powerful Southern Slavic Federation. See Karamanles, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exoterikes mas Schesses, 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), op. cit., p.100; AV, File 52, Dedrames to Karapanos, Sofia, 9 April 1929. Developments soon belied hopes for a new era in relationships between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The Bulgarian newspapers made negative comments about the Greco-Yugoslav agreement of March 1929 and described it as threat against Bulgaria. The Yugoslav Ambassador in Sofia assured the Bulgarian government that the Greco-Yugoslav treaty did not intimidate the neighbouring states and it had the same aspirations as the Turkish-Bulgarian agreement and afforded the neighbouring countries the opportunity to accede to the treaty. He also made it clear that the Bulgarian appeal to the League of Nations for the supposed Bulgarian minority in Yugoslavia would be regarded as a move against Belgrade. In this case, Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia would proceed to trilateral treaty. Furthermore, in the late April 1929, Ante Pavelic, leader of the Croatic Federal Party and later governor of Croatia during the Second World War, visited Sofia. Both Croats and Bulgarians took the opportunity to display their opposition to Belgrade's policy. The visit had a further bad impact on Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations. This was not all. The Yugoslav government became upset when, in June 1929, the Bulgarian Premier Andrew Liaptcheff suggested that two Bulgarian leaders, who had taken action against Yugoslavia during the Great War, should be granted amnesty. The Yugoslavs, who had suffered much from the insidious and unexpected Bulgarian attack on them in the years of the Great War, protested loudly against Bulgaria's intentions. Regrettably, the bill of amnesty passed in June 1929 and gave rise to strong friction between Sofia and Belgrade. See AFM, A/Pol./1929, Dedrames to Karapanos, Sofia, 5 April 1929; AFM, A/Pol./1929, Dedrames to

Karapanos, Sofia, 28 March 1929; AFM, A/Pol./1929, Dedrames to Karapanos, Sofia, 26 April 1929; AFM, A/6/1929, Dedrames to Argyropoulos, Sofia, 29 June 1929.

⁴² Barker, G., Macedonia: Its Place in Balkan Power Politics, London, New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1950, p. 20sq; Dakin, Douglas, The Greek Struggle in Macedonia, 1897-1913, Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1966, pp. 50-75; Argyropoulos P.A., O Makedonikos Agon: Apomnimoneumata (The Macedonian Fight: Memoirs), Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1975, p. 10sq. Greece argued that no Bulgarian minority was living in Greek Macedonia inasmuch as these, who considered themselves Bulgarians, had migrated in Bulgaria during the exchange of populations. These who had decided to stay in Greece had a completely Hellenic consciousness even if the dialect they spoke had some common elements with the Bulgarian language. With regard to the Macedonian question, that is, the making up of Macedonia's population, it should be noted that the majority of population in the Greek Macedonia was of Greek origin. The exchange of populations between Greece and Bulgaria in 1919 and between Greece and Turkey in 1922 reinforced the Greek element and almost dispelled minorities except some small groups, which went on living in Greece. See Karamanlis, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exoterikes mas Schesses, 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), op. cit., pp. 105-106.

⁴³ Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 72-75.

⁴⁴ FO371/14391/Ramsey, Annual Report of the Year 1929, Para., 128.

⁴⁵ AV, File 57, Kaklamanos to Michalakopoulos, London, 14 January 1930.

⁴⁶ AFM, A/Pol./1930, Dedrames to Michalakopoulos, Sofia, 7 March 1930.

⁴⁷ AFM, A/3/3/1930, General Report of May-June 1930, 4 July 1930. In the early 1930s, it was hoped that the spirit of goodwill, which had been displayed in the Greco-Turkish agreement of 1930 and had contributed to the improvement of relationships between Bulgaria and Rumania, could minimize the regional dissension and misunderstanding. Nevertheless, the rapprochement between Greece and Bulgaria was not easily attained. By the end of 1931, Turkey was the only state in the region, which was on good terms with Bulgaria. In fact, there were outstanding differences between Bulgaria and Turkey concerning education and the freedom of faith of the Bulgarians, who were living in Turkey as well claims of Bulgarian refugees on the abandoned properties in Eastern Thrace, which had remained under Turkish rule. The dispute, however, did not embitter Turkish-Bulgarian relations inasmuch as the Turkish friendship was much advantageous to Bulgaria. See "South-Eastern Europe: Bulgaria and her Balkan Neighbours", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1931, op. cit., 1932, p. 340. Furthermore, Bulgarian-Rumanian relations were embittered by the Bulgarian war debts to Rumania as it was stipulated by the Neuilly Treaty. See "Agreement between Greece and Bulgaria on the Settlement of Matters concerning War Reparations, Hague, 20 January 1930", Law 4591, 1 May 1930, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 135, pp. 456-460. Under the terms of the treaty, the governments, which were Bulgaria's creditors, waived their right to retain and liquidate the Bulgarian properties. But, by a separate agreement, which formed an integral part of the initial agreement, the suspension of sequestration of Bulgarian properties in Rumania was made conditional on payment by Bulgaria of the sum of 110 million lei, the first half of

which was to be paid within three months from the ratification of the agreement. See "South-Eastern Europe: Bulgaria and her Balkan Neighbours", in Toynbee, Arnold J. (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1931, op. cit., 1932, p. 341. The discussions for the re-establishment of Yugoslav-Bulgarian relationships resumed on 14th September 1930. The Greek Charge d' Affaires in Prague reported that, according to the statement of Edward Benes, the Czech Foreign Minister, preliminary agreement between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria was prerequisite for a Czech-Bulgarian treaty. Benes' statement was possibly made in the wake of his effort to smooth away the controversy between Sofia, Belgrade and Bucharest to the advantage of regional peace. See AFM, A/3/5/1930, Triandaphyllakos to Michalakopoulos, Prague, 14 September 1930. Karamanles, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exoterikes mas Schesses, 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), op. cit., p. 124. The deliberation between Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia for a treaty of arbitration was initiated in 1929. Edward Benes, in an attempt to restore unity in the Balkans, suggested that an agreement between Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Rumania should follow the Czech-Bulgarian treaty. Bulgaria was on bad terms with Rumania due to Bucharest's position on matters regarding the 'Bulgarophone' minority in Dobrudja, former Bulgarian province. See Karamanles, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exoterikes mas Schesses, 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), op. cit., p. 124. Despite strenuous efforts, however, the Yugoslav-Bulgarian rapprochement seemed an unattainable goal. A great number of Bulgarians, who were living in Serbian Macedonia, protested vigorously against the Yugoslav government for violation of their rights. More significantly, the terrorism operations committed by Bulgarian komitadjis against the railway, which linked Greece with Yugoslavia, the assassination of General Kovatchevic at Shtip and the bomb explosions at Pirot, Kriva Palanka and Strumica, infuriated the Yugoslav leaders and worsened relations between Sofia and Belgrade. See Miller, William, "Greece and her Neighbours", Foreign Affairs, April, 1931, p. 494.

⁴⁸ FO371/15237/Ramsey, Annual Report of the Year 1930, Para., 111.

⁴⁹ Miller, William, "Greece and her Neighbours", Foreign Affairs, op. cit., p. 493.

⁵⁰ AV, File 58, Henderson to Michalakopoulos, London, 26 December 1930; Miller, William, "Greece and her Neighbours", Foreign Affairs, op. cit., p. 493.

⁵¹ FO371/15970/Ramsey, Annual Report of the Year 1931, Para., 96.

⁵² FO371/15970/Ramsey, Annual Report of the Year 1931, Para., 102.

⁵³ "Greco-Bulgarian Agreement on the Implementation of Hoover's Plan concerning the Bulgarian Reparations and the Implementation of Kafandares-Mollof Agreement in the so-called Hoover Year, that is from 17 January 1931 until 30 June 1932, Athens, 11 November 1931", Law 5727, 8 October 1932, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 361, pp. 325-336; Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), vol. 2, op. cit., p. 145.

⁵⁴ Stavrianos, Leften Stavros, The Balkans since 1453, New York: Rinehart, 1958, p. 652.

⁵⁵ Karamanles, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exoterikes mas Schesses, 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), op. cit., p. 137.

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- ⁵⁶ AFM, A/Pol/1930, Dedrames to Michalakopoulos, Sofia, 23 June 1932.
- ⁵⁷ FO371/16774/Ramsey, Annual Report on the Year 1932, Para., 33.
- ⁵⁸ Pentzopoulos, Dimitris, The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and Its Impact upon Greece, op. cit., 1962, pp. 51-52.
- ⁵⁹ "Treaty between Greece and Turkey for the Exchange of the Greek and Turkish Populations and the Protocol, Lausanne, 1 January 1923", Legislative Decree, 25 August 1923, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 238, pp. 1985-1994; Howard, Henry N., The Partition of Turkey 1913-1923, Oklahoma: Oklahoma University Press, 1931, p. 25 seq.
- ⁶⁰ For the English text of the Convention, See Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, Turkey No 1 (1923), Lausanne Conference on Near Eastern Affairs, 1922-1923, Records of Proceedings and Draft Terms of Peace, London, 1923, pp. 817-827; Psomiades, Harry, The Eastern Question. The Last Phase: A Study in Greek and Turkish Diplomacy, op. cit., pp. 120-126.
- ⁶¹ Ladas, Stephen, The Exchange of Minorities, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932, p. 353.
- ⁶² Ibid., pp. 344-346. The exchangeable population would in principle be entitled to receive in the country to which they emigrated, property of a value equal to and of the same nature as that which they had left behind. All Greeks who were established before October 1918 within the areas under the prefecture of the city of Constantinople would be considered as Greeks inhabitants of Constantinople. All Moslems established in the region to the east of the frontier line laid down in 1913 by the Treaty of Bucharest would be considered as Moslem inhabitants of Western Thrace. See Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, op. cit., pp. 817-827; Ladas, Stephen, The Exchange of Minorities, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey, op. cit., pp. 344-346; Pentzopoulos, Dimitris, The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and Its Impact upon Greece, op. cit., pp. 67-68. It seems that there were some very substantial reasons that compelled Venizelos to favour compulsory exchange. National security and domestic development possibly took precedence over all the other matters. Furthermore, an ethnically homogeneous state, even if accomplished by a population exchange, was as much an objective for Venizelos as it was for Kemal Ataturk. See Petropoulos, John A., "The Compulsory Exchange of Populations: Greek-Turkish Peacemaking, 1922-1930", Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, vol. 2, 1976, pp. 140-148.
- ⁶³ Alexandris, Alexis, "Pontiac Greek Refugees in Constantinople 1922-1923: The Human Cost of the Exchange of Populations", Archion Pontou (The Archive of Pontos), vol. 37, 1982, pp. 280-293.
- ⁶⁴ About the response to the compulsory character of the exchange, See Seferiades, Stelios, "L' Exchange des Populations", Recueil des Cours, vol. 4, 1928, pp. 311-437.
- ⁶⁵ Historia tou Hellinikou Ethnous (History of the Greek Nation), op. cit., vol. 15, 1978, pp. 286, 344. This was not all. There were other mutual irritations. The term 'etablis' (established) in article two of the Lausanne treaty, with regard to the Greeks in Constantinople and the Moslems in Western Thrace, generated a sharp difference of opinion between the two states, provoked the greatest animosity and ultimately led them to have recourse to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Finally, the

neutral members of the Mixed Committee appointed to settle the issue, concluded that all Greeks inhabiting Constantinople, and all Moslems inhabiting Western Thrace before October 30, 1918, were to be exempted from the exchange. See Svolopoulou, Constantinou, He Helleniki Exoteriki Politiki meta tin Synthiki tes Lozannes: He Kressemi Kambi Ioulios-Dekemvrios 1928 (The Greek Foreign Policy after the Lausanne Treaty: The Critical Turning-Point July-December 1928), op. cit., pp. 19-20. The question of the Constantinopolitan Greeks was first raised on 1 December 1922 when the British chief delegate and president of the territorial and military Committee of the Lausanne Conference, Lord Curzon, the British Foreign Minister, read out a statement written by Dr Fritz Nansen, the Norwegian representative in the League of Nations, a distinguished scientist and Nobel prize-winner. Immediately after the Greek defeat in Asia Minor in September 1922, the League of Nations entrusted Dr Fritz Nansen, High Commissioner for the refugees at the League of Nations with the question of relief for the refugees from the Greek-Turkish war. After visiting Constantinople and Athens, Nansen proposed the signing of a separate convention for the exchange of the Greek and Turkish populations. Thus Nansen suggested that a mutual exchange of the Greek and Turkish population of Constantinople, under the supervision of the League of Nations, should take place. Venizelos, President of the Greek delegation, opposed the departure of the Greeks from Constantinople whereas Ismet Inonu, President of the Turkish delegation, demanded the expulsion of the Greeks. Finally, faced with the united opposition of the Allied and Balkan delegates, Ismet Inonu accepted in principle to allow both Constantinopolitan Greeks and Thracian Turks to remain in situ. This was not the end of the matter. Despite this eventual outcome, the Turks refused to make any alternations to their additional demand regarding the removal of the Ecumenical Patriarchate from Constantinople and its transfer to Mount Athos. See Alexandris, Alexis, The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations 1918-1974, Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1983, pp. 84-88. In January 1923, the Turkish delegates were once more faced with a united opposition. The Rumanian delegate reminded the Turks that the Rumanian Church was connected with the Ecumenical Patriarchate by spiritual bonds, and the Yugoslav delegate employed similar arguments. The Turkish delegation was forced to withdraw the original demand. See FO371/9058/E462/Curzon to Crowe, Lausanne, 10 January 1923; Pipinelis, Panagiotis, Historia tes Exoterikis Politikis tes Hellados 1923-1941 (History of Greek Foreign Policy 1923-1941), op. cit., pp. 146-148.

⁶⁶ 'Rhanar' is the name of the area where the Ecumenical Patriarchate is located in Constantinople.

⁶⁷ Alexandris, Alexis, The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations 1918-1974, op. cit., pp. 159-160.

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 160-162.

⁶⁹ FO371/11357/C5755/Cheetham to Chamberlain, Annual Report on Greece of the Year 1925; Alexandris, Alexis, The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations 1918-1974, op. cit., p. 163.

⁷⁰ Alexandris, Alexis, The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations 1918-1974, op. cit., pp. 166-167.

⁷¹ Andreas Michalakopoulos' Archive, Individual Collection, Athens (hereafter cited as AM), AM, Michalakopoulos to Polites, 15 May 1928; Svolopoulou, Constantinou, He

Helliniki Exoteriki Politiki meta tin Synthiki tes Lozannes: He Kressemi Kambi Ioulios-Dekemvrios 1928 (The Greek Foreign Policy after the Lausanne Treaty: The Critical Turning-Point July-December 1928), op. cit., p. 38.

⁷² Historia tou Hellinikou Ethnous (History of the Greek Nation), op. cit., vol. 15, 1978, p. 347.

⁷³ FO371/13659/Lorraine: Annual Report on the Year 1928, Para., 45.

⁷⁴ Karamanlis, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exoterikes mas Schesses, 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), op. cit., p. 40.

⁷⁵ Historia tou Hellinikou Ethnous (History of the Greek Nation), op. cit., vol. 15, 1978, pp. 310-311.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 345.

⁷⁷ AFM, A/3/12/1928, Mavroudes to Michalakopoulos, Rome, 27 January 1928. Nikolaos Mavroudes was a career diplomat appointed to the Greek Embassy in Belgrade, Warsaw, and Moscow and later in Rome.

⁷⁸ AM, Polites to Michalakopoulos, 9 February 1928; Svolopoulos, Constantinos, "To Hellinoroumaniko Symphonon tes 21 Martiou 1928 (The Greco-Rumanian Treaty of 21st March 1928)", Macedonica, vol. 14, 1974, p. 154.

⁷⁹ FO371/12923/Lorraine to Chamberlain, Athens, 20 April 1928.

⁸⁰ Svolopoulos, Constantinos, "To Hellinoroumaniko Symphonon tes 21 Martiou 1928 (The Greco-Rumanian Treaty of 21st March 1928)", Macedonica, op. cit., pp. 154-155.

⁸¹ "The Greco-Rumanian Treaty of Non-Aggression and Arbitration, Geneva 21 March 1928", Law 4145, 11 May 1929, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 172, pp. 1578-1583; FO371/12923, Lorraine to Chamberlain, 20 April 1928.

⁸² FO371/12923/Lorraine to Chamberlain, 31 March 1928; "Greco-Rumanian Convention, 21 March 1928", in Wheeler-Bennett John and Heald, Stephen (eds), Documents on International Affairs, 10 vols, London: Humphrey Milford, 1928-1938, vol. 2, 1929, pp. 113-119.

⁸³ FO371/12923/Eastern Department, 12 April 1928.

⁸⁴ FO371/12923/Department (Howard Smith), 14 April 1928.

⁸⁵ FO371/12923/Lorraine: Annual Report of the Year 1928, Para., 54.

⁸⁶ Svolopoulos, Constantinos, "To Hellinoroumaniko Symphonon tes 21 Martiou 1928 (The Greco-Rumanian Treaty of 21st March 1928)", Macedonica, op. cit., p. 161.

⁸⁷ Pipinelis, Panagiotis, Historia tes Exoterikis Politikis tes Hellados 1923-1941 (History of the Greek Foreign Policy 1923-1941), op. cit., pp. 67-68.

- ⁸⁸ The following demands were submitted to Albania by the Italian government: 1) recognition of Italian protection as it was stipulated by the 1921 treaty, 2) withdrawal of the British Mission and 3) control of the country's finances. See Pipinelis, Panagiotis, Europe and the Albanian Question, Second Edition, Chicago: Argonaut, Inc., 1963, pp. 85-86.
- ⁸⁹ Historia tou Hellinikou Ethnous (History of the Greek Nation), op. cit., vol. 15, 1978, p. 287.
- ⁹⁰ FO371/13659/Annual Report on Greece of the Year 1928, Paras., 61-62.
- ⁹¹ Karamanles, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exoterikes mas Schesses, 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), op. cit., p. 147.
- ⁹² AFM, A/3/1928, General Report of November 1927, Athens, 5 December 1927.
- ⁹³ FO371/13659/Loraine, Annual Report of the Year 1928, Para., 62.
- ⁹⁴ Karamanles, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exoterikes mas Schesses, 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), op. cit., p. 149.
- ⁹⁵ AFM, A/4/1/1929, Melas to Karapanos, Tirana, 6 January 1929.
- ⁹⁶ Miller, William, "Greece and her Neighbours", Foreign Affairs, op. cit., p. 493; Karamanles, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exoterikes mas Schesses, 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), op. cit., pp. 150-151.
- ⁹⁷ FO371/14391/Ramsey, Annual Report of the Year 1929, Para., 110.
- ⁹⁸ AFM, A/Pol/1930, General Report of the Year 1929, Athens, 15 January 1930.
- ⁹⁹ FO371/15237/Ramsey, Annual Report of the Year 1930, Para., 88.
- ¹⁰⁰ AFM, A/4/1/1930, Memorandum on Greco-Albanian Relations, Athens, 19 July 1930.
- ¹⁰¹ AFM, A/4/1/1930, Kollas to Michalakopoulos, Tirana, 9 September 1930.
- ¹⁰² FO371/15237/Ramsey, Annual Report of the Year 1930, Para., 88.
- ¹⁰³ FO371/15970/Ramsey, Annual Report of the Year 1931, Para., 81.
- ¹⁰⁴ FO371/16774/Ramsey, Annual Report of the Year 1932, Para., 28.
- ¹⁰⁵ Karamanles, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exoterikes mas Schesses, 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), op. cit., p. 158.
- ¹⁰⁶ Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), vol. 2, op. cit., p. 54.

- ¹⁰⁷ Wolfers, Arnold, Britain and France between the Wars: Conflicting Strategies of Peace since Versailles, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1940, pp. 14-17; Jelavich, Barbara, History of the Balkans, op. cit., p. 25.
- ¹⁰⁸ Karamanles, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exoterikes mas Schesses, 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), op. cit., p. 29.
- ¹⁰⁹ FO371/12923/Loraine to Chamberlain, Athens, 16 January 1928.
- ¹¹⁰ Karamanles, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exoterikes mas Schesses, 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), op. cit., pp. 29-30.
- ¹¹¹ Kennedy, Paul, Strategy and Diplomacy 1870-1945, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983, pp. 15-16.
- ¹¹² Ibid., pp. 17-18.
- ¹¹³ Reynolds, P.A., British Foreign Policy in the Interwar Years, London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1954, pp. 11-12.
- ¹¹⁴ Taylor, A.J. P., English History 1914-1945, London: Oxford University Press, 1965, pp. 120-122; Medlicott, William N., British Foreign Policy since Versailles, 1919-1963, London: Methuen and Co., 1968, pp. 40-65.
- ¹¹⁵ Kennedy, Paul, Strategy and Diplomacy 1870-1945, op. cit., p. 19.
- ¹¹⁶ Reynolds, P.A., British Foreign Policy in the Interwar Years, op. cit., pp. 47-59.
- ¹¹⁷ Taylor, A.J.P., English History 1914-1945, op. cit., pp. 227-261.
- ¹¹⁸ About the British interest in the Mediterranean Sea, See Carr, Edward-Hallet, Great Britain as a Mediterranean Power, Nottingham: University College Press, 1937; Carr, Edward-Hallet, Britain. A Study of Foreign Policy from the Versailles to the Outbreak of War, London: n.n., 1939; Cumming, Henry, Franco-British Rivalry in the Post-War Near East, London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1938.
- ¹¹⁹ FO371/12923/Loraine to Chamberlain, Athens, 16 January 1928; Pipinelis, Panagiotis, Historia tes Exoterikis Politikis tes Hellados 1923-1941 (History of Greek Foreign Policy 1923-1941), op. cit., p. 119.
- ¹²⁰ In 1925, the British government advised Yugoslavia to give up excessive demands to Greece's detriment. It was believed that re-establishment of relations between Greece and Yugoslavia might influence positively relations between Britain and Yugoslavia. See Ephemeris ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 15 September 1925.
- ¹²¹ Historia tou Hellinikou Ethnous (History of the Greek Nation), op. cit., vol. 15, 1978, p. 345.
- ¹²² Svolopoulou, Constantinou, He Helliniki Exoteriki Politiki meta tin Synthiki tes Lozannes: He Kressemi Kambi Ioullos-Dekemvrios 1928 (Greek Foreign Policy after the Lausanne Treaty: The Critical Turning-Point July-December 1928), op. cit., p. 25.

¹²³ Ibid., pp. 25-26.

¹²⁴ FO371/12924/Annual Report on Greece of the Year 1927, Para., 10; FO371/ 12659, Annual Report on Greece of the Year 1928, Para., 8; Historia tou Hellinikou Ethnous (History of the Greek Nation), op. cit., vol. 15, 1978, p. 346.

¹²⁵ Svolopoulou, Constantinou, He Helliniki Exoteriki Politiki meta tin Synthiki tes Lozannes: He Kressemi Kambi Ioulios-Dekemvrios 1928 (Greek Foreign Policy after the Lausanne Treaty: The Critical Turning-Point July-December 1928), op. cit., pp. 25-26; Historia tou Hellinikou Ethnous (History of the Greek Nation), op. cit., vol. 15, 1978, pp. 345-346.

¹²⁶ Kitsikis, Dimitrios, He Hellas tes Tetartes Avgustu kai ai Megalai Dynames (Greece of August 4th and the Great Powers), Athens: n.n., 1974, pp. 40-84.

¹²⁷ Svolopoulou, Constantinou, He Helliniki Exoteriki Politiki meta tin Synthiki tes Lozannes: He Kressemi Kambi Ioulios-Dekemvrios 1928 (Greek Foreign Policy after the Lausanne Treaty: The Critical Moment July-December 1928), op. cit., p. 27.

¹²⁸ Jelavich, Barbara, History of the Balkans, op. cit., p. 25.

¹²⁹ The occupied zone on the left bank of the Rhine should be divided into three areas, the first to be evacuated five years, the second ten years and the third fifteen years after the signature of the Versailles treaty. See Weinberg, Gerhard, Germany, Hitler and World War II: Essays in Modern German and World History, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp.115-117.

¹³⁰ Dietrich, K. Erdmann, Die Weimarer Republik, Munchen: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1991, pp. 110-112.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 115.

¹³² Carr, William, A History of Germany, 1815-1945, London: Edward Arnold, 1977, pp. 217-220.

¹³³ The actual transfer of wealth from Germany to the Allies on a major scale was possible only through the movement of capital goods or through a substantial export surplus. The latter was not achieved by Germany. But the transfer problem was none the less apparently solved, for Germany regularly made its due payments. It possessed the foreign exchange with which to make the payments only as a result of an enormous movement of foreign, mainly American, capital into Germany in the form of loans and investment. See Carr, William, A History of Germany, 1815-1945, op. cit., pp. 300-310.

¹³⁴ Reynolds, P.A, British Foreign Policy in the Interwar Years, op. cit., p. 25

¹³⁵ Ibid., p.27.

¹³⁶ Eyck, Erich, A History of the Weimar Republic, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 115-118.

¹³⁷ Dietrich, K. Erdmann, Die Weimarer Republik, op. cit., pp. 221-224.

¹³⁸ Carr, William, A History of Germany, 1815-1945, op. cit., 320-325; Weinberg, Gerhard, Germany, Hitler and World War II: Essays in Modern German and World History, op. cit., pp. 260-263.

¹³⁹ Svolopoulou, Constantinou, He Helliniki Exoteriki Politiki meta tin Synthiki tes Lozannes: He Kressemi Kambi Ioulis-Dekemvrios 1928 (Greek Foreign Policy after the Lausanne Treaty: The Critical Turning-Point July-December 1928), op. cit., pp. 23-24. Poland had reappeared on the map of Europe with the territories regained that had been taken in the partitions of the eighteenth century by Prussia, Russia and the Habsburg Empire. The boundaries, as had finally drawn up, combined a large Ukrainian and Russian minority in the East and a sizable German population concentrated on the border in the West. With regard to Czechoslovakia, it contained the Czechs of Austria and the Slovaks of Hungary, with a compact German minority on the western periphery and a Ukrainian population in the East. See Jelavich, Barbara, History of the Balkans, op. cit., p. 25. As far as Yugoslavia was concerned, the basic problem was that, despite the hopes of some intellectuals and political leaders before 1914, a Yugoslav nationality did not come into existence. In the interwar period the national balance was approximately forty three percent Serbian, twenty three percent Croatian, eight and a half percent Slovenian, six percent Bosnian Muslim, five percent Macedonian Slavic and three and six percent Albanian, with the final fourteen percent composed of minorities such as Germans, Hungarians, Vlachs, Jews and gypsies. These peoples never considered themselves one nation. See Rothschild, Joseph, "East Central Europe between the Two World Wars", in Sugar, F. Peter and Treadgold, W. Donald (eds), A History of East Central Europe, vol. 9, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974, p.215. Rumania, on the other hand, had great success, through Ion C. Bratianu, at the Paris Peace Conference in obtaining recognition of the maximum Romanian national gains. Moreover, events in Transylvania and Bessarabia showed the desire of the local Rumanian population for unification with the old kingdom, Wallachia and Moldavia, the 'Regat'. During the Great War Bratianu's greatest aspiration was the acquisition of Transylvania where the Bucharest government had a powerful ally in the Transylvanian National Party, which had led the Rumanian struggle against Hungarian control. The Rumanians had also conducted negotiations with the Habsburg government but met Hungarian intransigence. See Rothschild, Joseph, "East Central Europe between the Two World Wars", in Sugar, F. Peter and Treadgold, W. Donald (eds), A History of East Central Europe, vol. 9, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974, pp. 280-285. At the close of the fighting, with the collapse of the empire, the Rumanian population was left with the choice limited in practical fact to a continued union with Hungary or unification with the 'Regat'. See Jelavich, Barbara, History of the Balkans, op. cit., p. 38.

¹⁴⁰ The 'Little Entente' was formed after the Great War to preserve the *status quo* in Central Europe resulted from the peace treaties. See "Little Entente", in Wheeler-Bennett, John and Heald, Stephen (eds.), Documents on International Affairs 1929, London: Humphrey Milford, 1930, pp. 141-152.

¹⁴¹ Rousek, Joseph S., Balkan Politics: International Relations In no Man's Land, op. cit., p. 254. The League of Nations served to bolster the French position. Although it was originally conceived as an institution that could solve international issues and avoid war, it became principally an instrument for preserving the *status quo* constructed by the peace treaties. See Nicolson, Harold, Curzon: The Last Phase 1919-1925. A Study in Post-War Diplomacy, op. cit., p. 212. Thus, France sought to attain national security by strategies more dependable than those offered by ill-defined cooperation

with so dangerously uncertain an ally. These strategies took two forms. On the one hand an approach developed to cripple Germany economically, to make demands of her under the heading of reparation, which were impossible of fulfillment, and to regard any default in the execution of these demands, calculated to place even wider areas of German territory under French control. On the other hand an effort was made to encircle Germany and any possible allies whom it might obtain, with a ring of organized states linked to each other by a network of treaties and military conventions, all dependent upon French financial backing, technical assistance and support. See Ephemeris ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 3 April 1925;

¹⁴² Jelavich, Barbara, History of the Balkans, op. cit., p. 26.

¹⁴³ Seton, Watson-Hugh, Eastern Europe between the Wars, 1918-1941, Third Edition, New York, London: Cambridge University Press, 1976, pp. 362-365.

¹⁴⁴ About the French foreign policy, See Nere, Jacques, The Foreign Policy of France from 1914 to 1945, London, Boston: Routledge & Paul, 1975; Bonnet, George, Vingt Ans de Vie Politique, 1918-1938, de Clemenceau a Daladier, Paris: Fayard, 1969.

¹⁴⁵ FO371/12924/Annual Report on Greece of the Year 1927, Paras., 52, 64; Svolopoulou, Constantinou, He Helliniki Exoteriki Politiki meta tin Synthiki tes Lozannes: He Kressemi Kambi Ioulios-Dekemvrios 1928 (Greek Foreign Policy after the Lausanne Treaty: The Critical Turning-Point July-December 1928), op. cit., pp. 28-29. In accordance with this policy, Charles de Chambrun, the French Ambassador in Athens, made every effort to support the 1926 agreements with Yugoslavia, which were thoroughly detrimental to Greek interests. See FO371/12924/Annual Report on Greece of the Year 1927, Para., 64. Clement-Simon, who succeeded Charles de Chambrun as Ambassador, soon after his arrival in Athens in February 1927, stated publicly that Greece was expected to consider a treaty with Yugoslavia as matter of immediate priority. Nonetheless and although France's interest in settling the Greco-Yugoslav dispute was evident, its efforts to restrict the excessive Yugoslav demands were not strenuous. See FO371/12924/Annual Report on Greece of the Year 1927, Para., 22; Svolopoulou, Constantinou, He Helliniki Exoteriki Politiki meta tin Synthiki tes Lozannes: He Kressemi Kambi Ioulios-Dekemvrios 1928 (Greek Foreign Policy after the Lausanne Treaty: The Critical Turning-Point July-December 1928), op. cit., p. 29.

¹⁴⁶ About the report of E. Tsouderos, Assistant Commissioner of the National Bank, on the Greco-French negotiations submitted to Eleftherios Venizelos, See A.V., File 67, Tsouderos to Venizelos, 31 March 1928; FO371/12924/Annual Report on Greece of the Year 1927, Paras., 45-51.

¹⁴⁷ Svolopoulou, Constantinou, He Helliniki Exoteriki Politiki meta tin Synthiki tes Lozannes: He Kressemi Kambi Ioulios-Dekemvrios 1928 (Greek Foreign Policy after the Lausanne Treaty: The Critical Turning-Point July-December 1928), op. cit., pp. 29-30.

¹⁴⁸ Historia tou Hellinikou Ethnous (History of the Greek Nation), op. cit., vol. 15, 1978, p. 347.

¹⁴⁹ FO371/12176/Machillop to Chamberlain, 17 September 1927; Svolopoulou, Constantinou, He Helliniki Exoteriki Politiki meta tin Synthiki tes Lozannes: He

Kressemi Kambi Ioulios-Dekemvrios 1928 (Greek Foreign Policy after the Lausanne Treaty: The Critical Turning-Point July-December 1928), op. cit., p. 31.

¹⁵⁰ Jelavich, Barbara, History of the Balkans, op. cit., p. 26.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 26-27.

¹⁵² Svolopoulou, Constantinou, He Helliniki Exoteriki Politikí meta tin Synthiki tes Lozannes: He Kressemi Kambi Ioulios-Dekemvrios 1928 (Greek Foreign Policy after the Lausanne Treaty: The Critical Turning-Point July-December 1928), op. cit., p. 27.

¹⁵³ Sforza, Count Carlo, Fifty Years of War and Diplomacy in the Balkans. Pashich and the Union of the Yugoslavs, Trans. into English by J.G.Clemenceau de Clerco, New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, pp. 168-169. The author was Foreign Minister in 1920. In the same year he settled the quarrel still persisting between Italy and Yugoslavia by concluding a peace both conformed to the Wilson's principles and serviceable for peace and the interests of Italy. According to the author, this was the first peace treaty freely concluded in the post-war years. The author emphasized that if the spirit of Rapallo had inspired the other treaties, then a Europe less blind and less cruel would have resulted.

¹⁵⁴ Svolopoulou, Constantinou, He Helliniki Exoteriki Politikí meta tin Synthiki tes Lozannes: He Kressemi Kambi Ioulios-Dekemvrios 1928 (Greek Foreign Policy after the Lausanne Treaty: The Critical Turning-Point July-December 1928), op. cit., p. 32; Jelavich, Barbara, History of the Balkans, op. cit., p. 27.

¹⁵⁵ About Italy's policy, See Michels, R., Les Bases Historique de la Politique Italienne, Paris: Publication de la Conciliation Internationale, Center Europeen de la Dotation Carnegie, 1934; Macartney, Maxwell and Cremona, Paul, Italy's Foreign and Colonial Policy, 1914-1937, London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1938; Garocci, G., La Politica Estera dell' Italia Fascista (1925-1928), Bari: n.n., 1969; Hughes, H.S., "The Early Diplomacy of Italian Fascism, 1922-1932", In Craig, G. and Gilbert, F.(eds), The Diplomats, 1919-1930, Eighth Edition, New York: n.n., 1974, pp. 210-233; Cedric, James-Lowe, Italian Foreign Policy, 1870-1940, London-Boston: n.n., 1975; Smith, M. Denis, Mussolini, New York: Knopf, 1982.

¹⁵⁶ Svolopoulou, Constantinou, He Helliniki Exoteriki Politikí meta tin Synthiki tes Lozannes: He Kressemi Kambi Ioulios-Dekemvrios 1928 (Greek Foreign Policy after the Lausanne Treaty: The Critical Turning-Point July-December 1928), op. cit., pp. 31-32.

¹⁵⁷ Karamanlis, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exoterikes mas Schesses, 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), op. cit., p. 33.

¹⁵⁸ Barros, James, The Corfu Incident of 1923: Mussolini and the League of Nations, op. cit., p. 41.

¹⁵⁹ Macartney, Maxwell and Cremona, Paul, Italy's Foreign and Colonial Policy, 1914-1937, op. cit., pp. 24-31.

¹⁶⁰ Barros, James, The Corfu Incident of 1923: Mussolini and the League of Nations, op. cit., pp. 42-45.

- ¹⁶¹ Rousek, Joseph S., Balkan Politics: International Relations in no Man's Land, op. cit., p. 254.
- ¹⁶² Ibid., pp. 254-255.
- ¹⁶³ Svolopoulou, Constantinou, He Helliniki Exoteriki Politiki meta tin Synthiki tes Lozannes: He Kressemi Kambi Ioulíos-Dekemvrios 1928 (Greek Foreign Policy after the Lausanne Treaty: The Critical Turning-Point July-December 1928), op. cit., pp. 27-28.
- ¹⁶⁴ Barros, James, The Corfu Incident of 1923: Mussolini and the League of Nations, op. cit., p. 43.
- ¹⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 43.
- ¹⁶⁶ Svolopoulou, Constantinou, He Helliniki Exoteriki Politiki meta tin Synthiki tes Lozannes: He Kressemi Kambi Ioulíos-Dekemvrios 1928 (Greek Foreign Policy after the Lausanne Treaty: The Critical Turning-Point July-December 1928), op. cit., pp. 16-23.
- ¹⁶⁷ Barros, James, The Corfu Incident of 1923: Mussolini and the League of Nations, op. cit., p. 43.
- ¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 44.
- ¹⁶⁹ Jelavich, Barbara, History of the Balkans, op. cit., p. 28.
- ¹⁷⁰ Rousek, Joseph S., Balkan Politics: International Relations in no Man's Land, op. cit., p. 254; Jelavich, Barbara, History of the Balkans, op. cit., pp. 27-28.
- ¹⁷¹ Pipinelis, Panagiotis, Europe and the Albanian Question, op. cit., pp. 77-78.
- ¹⁷² Ibid., pp. 84- 85.
- ¹⁷³ The principal clause of the treaty of Tirana laid it down that Albania and Italy recognized that any disturbance to alter the political legal and territorial status of Albania would conflict with their common political interests. In addition, an undertaking was given that none of the contracting states would conclude a political or military treaty with any third party, if such treaty conflicted with the interests of the other state. In this manner, Italy acquired the right to 'collaborate' with Albania for the maintenance not only of the territorial and legal, but also of the political regime, that is to say, it acquired rights of participation in the exercise of the internal sovereignty of the country. It is true that soon after the signing of the agreement Baron Aloisi, in a letter addressed to the Albanian Foreign Minister under date 5th December 1926, endeavoured to clarify the meaning of this clause by declaring that the granting of assistance for the 'preservation of common interests' was understood to be conditional upon Albania's demanding such assistance. Nevertheless, it remained a fact that, in so far as it was recognized that the political situation in Albania was a matter of vital interest to Italy, the latter automatically acquired diplomatic justification for protecting its interest at any given time. See Pipinelis, Panagiotis, Europe and the Albanian Question, op. cit., pp. 85-87.

¹⁷⁴ At the time, serious observers did not doubt that such would be the result. The *Times* wrote in a leading article that the Tirana treaty by pledging Italy to support Zoghu's government against any 'perturbation whatsoever directed against the political legal and territorial status quo' established a sort of Italian protectorate over the country and made Albanian attitude, to a considerable extent, an international issue. Wickham Steed, writing in the *Times* on 19 March 1927, pointed out that the treaty recognized the right to Italy to support the Albanian government against any political, juridical and territorial perturbation of any kind, an arrangement that would appear to warrant Italian intervention even against an effort on the part of the Albanians in Albania to change their own government. See Steed, Wickham, "The Treaty of Tirana", The Times, 19 March 1927. The matter did not, however, end with the 1926 Tirana treaty. In 1927, by the treaty of alliance with Italy, a new step was taken towards Albania's subordination to Italian guardianship. By this treaty each of the contracting states undertook among other obligations, that of defending the interests and advantages of the other state with the same zeal, which was shown in defending its own interests. Italy was not slow to show its zeal in defending its interests. Albania's chronic bankruptcy afforded the most suitable opportunity. The funding installments for the service of the loan of fifty million francs, which had been granted in 1925, were due to begin in June 1926. In late June 1926 an agreement was signed between Italy and Albania provided that the total nominal amount of the loan should be fixed at seventy and a half millions, in place of the fifty millions actually paid up. See Pipinelis, Panagiotis, Europe and the Albanian Question, op. cit., p. 87. In addition, the agreement fixed the funding installments at an annual sum of 6,474,000 gold francs. These sums were to absorb approximately one fourth of the country's estimated expenditure. In other words, it was obvious from the very beginning that nothing could be assigned to the service of the loan and that the arrears would accumulate indefinitely the more so since, apart from the loan of 50 millions, Albania was burdened with other loan obligations. See Pipinelis, Panagiotis, Europe and the Albanian Question, op. cit., pp. 87-88.

¹⁷⁵ Svolopoulou, Constantinou, He Helliniki Exoteriki Politiki meta tin Synthiki tes Lozannes: He Kressemi Kambl Ioulios-Dekemyrios 1928 (Greek Foreign Policy after the Lausanne Treaty: The Critical Turning-Point July-December 1928), op. cit., p. 39. Under the treaty's clauses the two sides decided to conclude the treaty of neutrality, conciliation and juridical settlement animated by the desire to strengthen the links of friendship between them. The contracting parties undertook not to enter into any understanding either political or economic or into any alliance directed against the other. In addition, if one of the contracting states, notwithstanding its pacific attitude, was attacked by one or more states, the other party would observe neutrality throughout the whole period of the conflict. According to the third and fourth articles of the treaty, the contracting parties undertook to submit to conciliation disputes of any kind, which might arise between them and which could not be dealt with by ordinary means. In the same case of the failure of the procedure of conciliation, they would resort to a juridical settlement. The attached protocol laid down the procedure of conciliation and for juridical settlement. In addition, each of the contracting parties would determine unilaterally in a written declaration if a question should come within its sovereign rights. Before a question could be submitted to the procedure of conciliation and arbitration, it was necessary that it should in its nature conform to the provisions of the article. Furthermore, any questions, which might arise in the interpretation or in the execution of the treaty, would be submitted directly on the demand of one party to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. See "Italy: Text of Italian-Turkish Treaty of Neutrality, Conciliation and Juridical Settlement, May 30, 1928", in

Wheeler-Bennet, John and Heald, Stephen (eds), Documents on International Affairs 1928, London: Humphrey Milford, 1929, pp. 122-123.

¹⁷⁶ Nicolson, Harold, Curzon: The Last Phase 1919-1925: A Study in Post-War Diplomacy, London: Constable & Company Ltd, 1934, pp. 368-375.

¹⁷⁷ The Conference of Ambassadors has its beginning on 1 July 1919, three days after the signing of the Versailles Treaty at a meeting of the Supreme Council held at the Quai d'Orsay. The Prime Minister George Clemenceau proposed that the Council nominates a Committee to watch the execution of the Treaty with Germany when ratified. On 13 December 1919, the Conference of Ambassadors was formally established during a meeting in London on the basis of a draft resolution offered by Lloyd George with Clemenceau's concurrence. The Conference was often chaired by the President of the French Republic. It negotiated with governments, sent out missions and made agreements. Like the League of Nations, it was never officially considered to be a subject of International Law. The Conference of Ambassadors played an important role in defusing the dangerous crisis generated by the Corfu Incident in 1923. About the history of the Conference, the theoretical aspect of its work along with its place in the international organization, See Pink, P. Gerhard, The Conference of Ambassadors (Paris 1920-1931), Geneva: Geneva Research Centre, 1942, pp. 15-50.

¹⁷⁸ Protocol of London, Permanent Court of International Justice, Series C, vol. 2, no.5, p. 265.

¹⁷⁹ Villari, Luigi, Italian Foreign Policy under Mussolini, New York: Devin-Adair Co., 1956, p. 20.

¹⁸⁰ Barros, James, The Corfu Incident of 1923: Mussolini and the League of Nations, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

¹⁸¹ Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), op. cit., pp. 67-70.

¹⁸² Hasluck, Margaret, The Unwritten Law in Albania, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954, pp. 219-260.

¹⁸³ Tellini's murder has not been cleared up. There is surely the possibility that his murder had no political basis and the attackers were possibly a group of bandits in close proximity to the imperfectly defined frontier. See Kenneth, Edwards, The Grey Diplomats, London: Rich and Cowan Ltd., 1938, p. 83.

¹⁸⁴ I Documenti Diplomatici Italiani, Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Settima Serie (1922-1935), 6 vols, Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato P. V., 1953-1967 (hereafter cited as DDI), DDI, Mussolini to Montagna, Athens, 28 August 1923, 7a series, vol. 2, Roma, 1955, p. 127; Barros, James, The Corfu Incident of 1923: Mussolini and the League of Nations, op. cit., p. 34.

¹⁸⁵ In a note, Mussolini recorded six demands for presentation to the Greek government. He demanded the highest Greek military authority's apologies; funeral services in the Roman-catholic Cathedral in Athens attended by the government members; a criminal investigation to be completed within five days after the arrival of

the Italian military attaché, Colonel Ferdinando Perrone; exemplary punishment for the culprits; an indemnity of fifty million Italian lire payable within five days. Finally honour was to be shown the Italian flag. DDI, Note by Mussolini, 28 August 1923, 7a series, vol. 2, op. cit., p. 128; Barros, James, The Corfu Incident of 1923: Mussolini and the League of Nations, op. cit., p. 40.

¹⁸⁶ Currey, Muriel, Italian Foreign Policy, 1918-1932, London: I. Nicholson and Watson Ltd., 1932, p. 104; Lasturel, Pierre, L'Affaire Greco-Italienne de 1923, Paris: L'île de France, 1925, p. 60.

¹⁸⁷ Lasturel, Pierre, L'Affaire Greco-Italienne de 1923, op. cit., pp. 60-62.

¹⁸⁸ Foschini, Antonio, La Verità Sulla Cannonata di Corfu, Rome: Giacomaniello, 1953, p. 37.

¹⁸⁹ Gonatas, Stylianos, Apomnimoneumata 1897-1957 (Memoirs 1897-1957), Athens: n.n., 1958, p. 273.

¹⁹⁰ Alexandres, Apostolos, Politikí Anamnéseis (Political Recollections), Patras: n.n., 1947, p. 107.

¹⁹¹ Barros, James, The Corfu Incident of 1923: Mussolini and the League of Nations, op. cit., pp. 194-196. The Conference of Ambassadors approved of the following demands: 1) Apologies would be presented by the highest Greek military authority to the diplomatic representatives in Athens of the three Allied Powers whose delegates had been members of the Conference's Delimitation Committee. 2) A funeral service in honour of the victims would be celebrated in the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Athens on the presence of all members of the Greek government. 3) On the day of the funeral service and after the vessels of the three Powers had anchored the Greek fleet would honour the Italian, British and French flags. 4) The Greek government would undertake the discovery and exemplary punishment of the guilty parties at the earliest possible moment. 5) A special Committee consisting of delegates of France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan would supervise the preliminary investigation and inquiry undertaken by the Greek government. 6) The Committee of Inquiry would submit its report and conclusions to the Conference of Ambassadors, while the Greek government would afford the Committee all facilities in carrying out its works and would defray all expenditure thereby incurred. Lastly, 7) the Greek government would undertake to pay to the Italian Government, in respect of the murder of its delegates, an indemnity of which the total amount would be determined by the Hague Permanent Court of International Justice. The Greek government should deposit without delay, as security, at the Swiss National Bank, a sum of fifty million Italian lire. See Glasgow, George, The Janina Murder and the Occupation of Corfu, London: The Anglo-Hellenic League, 1923, pp. 10-22; Barros, James, The Corfu Incident of 1923: Mussolini and the League of Nations, op. cit., pp. 194-196.

¹⁹² Barros, James, The Corfu Incident of 1923: Mussolini and the League of Nations, op. cit., pp. 210-264.

¹⁹³ Ibid., pp. 263-291.

¹⁹⁴ Andreades, Andreas, "Grèce et Italie", La Revue de Genève, vol. 12, July-December, 1923, pp. 621-632.

¹⁹⁵ FO371/12175/Lorraine to Chamberlain, 2 February 1927.

¹⁹⁶ Svolopoulou, Constantinou, He Helliniki Exoteriki Politiki meta tin Synthiki tes Lozannes: He Kressemi Kambi Ioulios-Dekemvrios 1928 (The Greek Foreign Policy after the Lausanne Treaty: The Critical Turning-Point July-December 1928), Thessaloniki: Scientific Publications-Thessaloniki Institute of International Public Law and International Relations, 1977, p. 34.

¹⁹⁷ Archives du Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres, Paris. Greece (1928-1932), Europe (1918-1929) (hereafter cited as AAE), AAE, Europe (1918-1929): Italy, 132, Besnard (Rome) to Briand, 13\14 July 1927.

¹⁹⁸ About Michalakopoulos' visit to Rome, See AAE, Europe (1918-1929): Italy, 132, Roger (Rome) to Briand, 23 December 1927; Clement Simon to Briand, 24 December 1927.

¹⁹⁹ Svolopoulou, Constantinou, He Helliniki Exoteriki Politiki meta tin Synthiki tes Lozannes: He Kressemi Kambi Ioulios-Dekemvrios 1928 (The Greek Foreign Policy after the Lausanne Treaty: The Critical Turning-Point July-December 1928), op. cit., pp. 35-36. However, Michalakopoulos was circumspect about political rapprochement between Greece and Italy. His circumspection derived from France's opposition to the signing of a Greco-Italian treaty and the British reservations on the matter. Austen Chamberlain, the British Foreign Minister, had already advised the Greek government not to proceed to a treaty with Italy without securing in advance the approval of the governments of France and Britain. See FO371/12924, Annual Report on Greece of the Year 1927, Para., 53.

²⁰⁰ Karamanlis, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exoterikes mas Schesses, 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), Second Edition, Athens: Papazissi, 1995, p. 38. The author is the leader of the 'Nea Dimokratia' Party in Greece and Prime Minister from March 2004.

²⁰¹ AFM, A/3/1928, General Report on November 1927, 5 December 1927.

1 Eleftherios Venizelos influenced the political life in Greece as leader of the Liberal Party, for almost three decades. Prime minister between the years 1910 and 1915 and between 1917 and 1920, architect of the Greek military and diplomatic victories in the Balkan Wars, the diplomat of the Paris Peace Conference, he had, from 1924, divided power with the monarchist interests that had survived the Anatolian disaster and the departure of King Constantine. His premiership from 1928 until 1932 was regarded as the second golden age of *Venizelism* and it was the third longest premiership in the Greek parliamentary history. In reality, Venizelos' foreign policy had been adopted, to some extent, by previous governments from 1926 until 1928. One of the most striking achievements of Venizelos' foreign policy was the agreement with Turkey. See Mavrogordatos, George Th., Stillborn Republic, Social Coalitions and Party Strategies in Greece, 1922-1936, op. cit., pp. 37-38.

²⁰³ Alexandris, Alexis, The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations 1918- 1974, op. cit., p. 174.

- ²⁰⁴ Psomiades, J. Harry, "The Diplomacy of Eleftherios Venizelos (1928-1930)", in Laourda, Louisa (ed), Meletimata ste Mnimi Basileiou Laourda (Essays in Memory of Basil Laourdas), Thessaloniki: L.B. Lourda, 1975, pp. 555-557.
- ²⁰⁵ Alastos, Doros, Venizelos: Patriot-Statesman-Revolutionary, London: Percy Lund Humphries Co., 1942, pp. 244-245. Venizelos was born in Crete in 1864 and died in Paris in 1936. His involvement in politics coincided with the stormiest years of the Greek history in the early twentieth century.
- ²⁰⁶ FO371/12926/Austen Chamberlain, Report, London, 23 May 1928.
- ²⁰⁷ FO371/12926/Loraine to Chamberlain, Athens, 23 May 1928; AAE, Europe (1918-1929): Greece 80/76, Clement-Simon to Briand, Athens, 9 May 1928.
- ²⁰⁸ AV, File 331, Nikolaos Polites to Venizelos, Paris, 10 July 1928.
- ²⁰⁹ Karamanles, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exoterikes mas Schesses. 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), op. cit., p. 49.
- ²¹⁰ DDI, Arlotta to Mussolini, Athens, 9 July 1928, 7a series, vol. 6, op. cit., 1967, no. 1237. For Venizelos, in addition, the initiation of negotiations with the Balkan states was an important goal. On 22 July 1928, during his electoral speech before a huge, enthusiastic crowd of supporters in Thessaloniki, Venizelos presented the outline of his Balkan foreign policy. The 'Great Idea', an ideology concerning national claims, which was expressed for the first time by Ioannes Kolettis in 1844 and prevailed in Greece for almost a century, was to be relinquished forever. There was no plan for the refugees from Asia Minor to return to their properties and the Greek people had to overcome enmity with Turkey. The dispute with Yugoslavia concerning the port of Thessaloniki should be also settled. Questions touching on Bulgaria's claims on the access to the Aegean should be settled through the allotment of trade facilities at the port of Thessaloniki or Alexandroupolis as the Treaty of Neilly provided. Furthermore, the political rapprochement with Italy was not to disturb traditionally good relations with Britain and France. See Eleftheron Vima, 23 July 1928; To Phos, 23 July 1928.
- ²¹¹ Karamanles, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exoterikes mas Schesses. 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), op. cit., p. 57.
- ²¹² AAE, Europe (1918-1929): Italy, 132, Roger (Rome) to Briand, 6 July 1928.
- ²¹³ Svolopoulou, Constantinou, He Helliniki Exoteriki Politiki meta tin Synthiki tes Lozannes: He Kressemi Kambi Ioulios-Dekemvrios 1928 (The Greek Foreign Policy after the Lausanne Treaty: The Critical Turning-Point July-December 1928), op. cit., pp. 50-51.
- ²¹⁴ DDI, Arlotta to Mussolini, Athens, 17 July 1928, 7a series, vol. 6, no. 483.
- ²¹⁵ DDI, Mussolini to Arlotta, Rome, 24 July 1928, 7a series, vol. 6, no. 513.
- ²¹⁶ DDI, Arlotta to Mussolini, Athens, 22 August 1928, 7a series, vol. 6, no. 571; Mussolini to Arlotta, Rome, 26 August 1928, 7a series, vol. 6, no. 589; Arlotta to Mussolini, Athens, 27 August 1928, 7a series, vol. 6, no 591.

²¹⁷ Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 50-53; Miller, William, "Greece and her Neighbours", Foreign Affairs, April, 1931, pp. 490-491.

²¹⁸ DDI, Mussolini to Arlotta, Rome, 26 August 1928, 7a series, vol.6, no. 589.

²¹⁹ AV, File 331, Tsamados to Venizelos, 29 August 1928; DDI, Arlotta to Mussolini, Athens, 28 August 1928, 7a series, vol. 6, no. 596.

²²⁰ AV, File 51, Discussions with Mussolini on 23 September 1928, Venizelos' Memorandum; DDI, Appunto di Mussolini sul colloquio con Venizelos, Rome, 23 September 1928, 7a series, vol. 6, no. 679, p. 590.

²²¹ AV, File 51, Discussions with Mussolini on 23 September 1928, Venizelos' Memorandum. Venizelos' subsequent visit to Paris was designed to reassure the French government that there was no thought of rescinding the agreement with France, which had settled matters touching on the Greek war debts. Greco-Yugoslav relations understandably came under discussion given the French position on the issue. Venizelos clarified to Aristide Briand the reasons why the Yugoslav claims on the port of Thessaloniki were unrealistic and unacceptable. He called attention to the fact that should Yugoslavia insisted inexorably on its demands, Greece would seek support from France and Britain and, in such a case neither France nor Britain would offer support. In consequence, Greece would require the Italian support. See AV, File 51, Venizelos' Report on his Meeting with Briand, Paris, 26 September 1928. When the Greek Premier met Philippe Berthelot, General Secretary of the 'Quai d' Orsay', he defended firmly his views and stated bluntly that although he desired harmonious relationships with both Italy and Yugoslavia he could not permit the Yugoslav threat to hang over Greece interminably. See AV, File 306, Venizelos' Memorandum on the Treaty with Italy, Athens, 28 February 1934. It should be noted that, after Venizelos' election in August 1928, the French Ambassador in London suggested to Sir Ronald Lindsay, the British Undersecretary of State at the Foreign Office, that France and Britain should jointly advise Belgrade and Ankara to settle finally all outstanding issues with Greece. See FO371/12920/Sargent, Memorandum, London, 3 September 1928.

²²² AV, File 51, Venizelos' Report on the Meeting between him and Marinkovic, Paris, 29 September 1928.

²²³ FO371/12933/O.C. Harvey, Memorandum on Venizelos, London, 29 September 1928.

²²⁴ Karamanles, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exotenikes mas Schesses, 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), op. cit., pp. 62-63.

²²⁵ FO371/13659/Loraine, Annual Report of the Year 1928, Para., 9.

²²⁶ Michalakopoulos was a man of great abilities and extraordinary scholarship who stood out due to his ideological sensibility and dynamic realism. His deeply loyalty to Geneva's principles coexisted with his conviction that close collaboration and understanding among the Balkan states was a matter of priority. Thus, from November 1926 until June 1928, he addressed himself to the task of laying the foundation of the foreign policy that Greece would adopt in the following years. See Gatopoulou, Dimitris, Andreas Michalakopoulos, Athens, 1947, pp. 15, 18, 159, 207; Michalakopoulos,

Andreas, Logoi Kinovouleftikoi-Logoi-Miktai Selides (Debates-Speeches-Mixed Pages), 3 vols, Athens: n.n., 1962-1967, vol. 2, 1964, p. 207.

²²⁷ FO371/12923/Lorraine to Chamberlain, Athens, 16 January 1928.

²²⁸ FO371/13659/Lorraine, Annual Report of the Year 1928, Para., 7.

²²⁹ Pipinelis, Panagiotis, Historia tes Exoterikis Politikis tes Hellados 1923-1941 (History of the Greek Foreign Policy 1923-1941), op. cit., p. 119.

CHAPTER 2

SPORT IN GREECE AND THE BALKANS FROM THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO 1932

2.1 Physical Education and Sport In Greece from the formation of the modern Greek state (1830) to 1932

This chapter discusses the development of modern sport in Greece from the formation of the Greek state (in 1830) to 1932 the year that Eleftherios Venizelos, a politician of vision who supported and promoted modern sport and the Games in particular, lost the elections. In addition, a brief review of sport in the other Balkan states as well as the involvement of European and Balkan athletes in athletic events in Athens immediately prior to the establishment of the Games will provide a helpful background to their emergence and will set the wider scene for the foundation of the Games.

When the Greek War of Independence (1821-1827) ended, Ioannes Kapodistrias (the first Greek governor, from 1828 until 1831, of a small proportion of Greek territory, which had been liberated in 1827 after four centuries of Ottoman occupation) devoted much energy to the reconstruction of the country in an effort to overcome crucial socio-political problems and economic difficulties.¹ Regrettably, in 1831, political unrest and friction resulted in the assassination of Kapodistrias in Nafplion, the first capital of the newly established Greek state. A year earlier, in February 1830, under the Protocol of London, Greece had been proclaimed an

independent state under a hereditary monarchy.² On 6 February 1833, Otto I, Prince of Bavaria, arrived in Greece and became the King of the Greek Kingdom, which included the districts of Peloponese, Cyclades and Sterea Hellas.³ In Nafplion, in 1834, King Otto established a teacher-training College and a public gymnasium. These institutions did not flourish inasmuch as sport was seen as a purposeless activity detrimental to scholarship. Nevertheless, some time later, a new teacher-training College and a public gymnasium were founded in Athens, which was now the capital of the Greek state. George Pagon, the man, who is considered to be the first gymnast in modern Greece, was appointed director at the Athens gymnasium. He was also the man who wrote the first drill instruction manual in Greek under the title 'Outline of Gymnastics'.⁴ Moreover, in an effort to confront governmental prejudices against physical exercise, Pagon included a particular chapter in this drill instruction manual under the title 'Problems concerning Gymnastics: Obstacles and Arguments'. The most critical argument by those who were against physical exercise was that it was an unnecessary waste of time for the young. Energy and time, in their opinion, should be devoted to activities that produced immediate profits.⁵ Both the College and the gymnasium closed in 1863. In the face of critical political and economic problems and amidst a spirit of belittlement of sport, fully discernible in the Greek educational system of the time, there was no fertile ground for sport's growth.⁶

With physical education in a state of underdevelopment, the staff of the Athens fire brigade, which saw the light of day for the first time in 1854, were considered the most capable to supervise the exercise of school boys and girls with the proviso that they had attended courses of pedagogy. Furthermore and amidst strenuous efforts to achieve economic recovery and to reconstruct the country, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Greek government attempted to introduce voluntary physical exercise into primary schools, an initiative, which was seen as a positive step towards

modern sport's growth.⁷ In December 1862 the provisional government resolved to introduce physical exercise as an optional activity in both primary and secondary public schools. Nevertheless, physical exercise was hardly considered an integral part of education or a decisive factor in the spiritual development of the Greek populace.⁸ In effect, those who were in charge of the reconstruction of the Greek educational system were, to a great extent, influenced by the educationists of the time who considered that the school curricula should focus only on academic learning. They appeared to have little contact with the emerging English ideology of athleticism and little sympathy for the associated values of physical exercise. In consequence, the acquisition of self-assurance and discipline and the improvement of physical and mental condition through exercise suffered neglect. However, by a Royal Decree of 1871 the military drill was sanctioned and warrant officers were appointed to state schools.⁹ For want of physical education teachers, inasmuch as the first School for Physical Education teachers opened in 1884 only to close some time later for unknown reasons,¹⁰ well-trained army officers were considered the most capable citizens to undertake military exercise. Military drill was compulsory for students of fourteen years old and over. In 1877, however, physical education teachers were appointed to high schools to replace the officers who had been instructing schoolchildren.¹¹ Nevertheless, in March 1889, a high-ranking officer was nominated as General Inspector of military drill and was entrusted to control and inspect it in secondary schools throughout the country.¹²

Ioannes Phokianos (1845-1896) devoted a great deal of energy to the promotion of physical exercise in schools in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. A keen supporter of modern sport was appointed director of the Central Gymnasium in Athens in 1868. A man of vision and with a strong fighting spirit, Phokianos became the first President of the Pan-Hellenic Gymnastic Association in 1891.¹³ In 1880, thanks to his persistent efforts, physical exercise was introduced into secondary state schools as

a compulsory activity by Royal Decree.¹⁴ A further Royal Decree in 1883 institutionalised physical exercise in both primary and secondary schools, thus implementing an earlier government resolution of 1862.¹⁵ In the same year, however, military drill and shooting were again introduced as compulsory activities at public schools and teacher training colleges.¹⁶ During the exercise, pupils of both sexes got marks for dexterity and discipline. They were dressed in a uniform and wore a kepi. Army officers assisted by non-commissioned officers were appointed by the Ministry of Defence to public schools. Moreover, the inspection of military drill was undertaken by the local military authorities.¹⁷ The introduction of military exercise in Greek schools, in essence, took place at the moment the relative merits of military drill versus physical exercise on the Swedish system of gymnastics gained momentum in Europe and exercise was frequently associated with the maintenance of good order, military training and group discipline.¹⁸

In Greece, as elsewhere, the supporters of military drill and shooting saw schools as a necessary means by which the nation's young could be initiated into strict discipline and into the handling of weapons in the interests of national survival. Military drill was presented as a necessary male activity and, since a great part of Greece was still under Turkish domination, boys of all ages were prepared for war. The need to prepare the young to defend the country and the national interest was increasingly stressed. Martial masculinity, with its qualities of bravery, honour and glory, seemed to many desirable through early successful indoctrination, which could be undertaken in schools through military drill and other patriotic pursuits.¹⁹ The martial implications of the new policy aroused Phokianos' indignation and led him to attempt to overturn the government policy in his role as director of the Central Gymnasium of Athens and Inspector of Physical Exercise in public schools. He devoted considerable energy to an impressive range of actions in a stand for his ideas and principles. In writings and

speeches, with zeal and assiduity, he fought for non-martial physical exercise. The struggle between military drill and non-militaristic physical exercise lasted until 1893, when Phokianos' efforts at reform eventually bore fruit.²⁰ Meanwhile, in 1891, at the instigation of Nikolaos Kotselopoulos, lawyer and physical education teacher, the Pan-Hellenic Gymnastic Association was established by Decree to improve and promote physical education.²¹ Kotselopoulos was nominated as Secretary General of the Pan-Hellenic Gymnastic Association while Phokianos was appointed President. In the same year, the Pan-Hellenic Gymnastic Association staged the first athletic contests at the Central Gymnasium. The event was of great importance to the city of Athens and to modern sport, which made its first shaky steps, and was attended by the royal family, the Prime Minister, government members, the diplomatic corps and thousands of spectators.²² One of the concerns of the newly established Pan-Hellenic Gymnastic Association was the foundation of a school for physical education teachers. Phokianos, in his new role as President of the Association, embraced the opportunity to break fresh ground. He established the school for women physical education teachers, an initiative that raised many hopes and expectations. Regrettably, the school ran for only a short time as a result of the lack of state subsidies and sports facilities. However, thirty-four women physical education teachers graduated, an impressive number for the time. The training of the women students took place at the Zappeion Mansion, a magnificent building, which had been constructed as a site for trade expositions and cultural events.²³

The Central Gymnasium of Athens, which was secured by law in December 1887 and whose staff was in charge of the training of the physical education teachers as well as the physical exercise of the university students and the citizens of all ages,²⁴ saw its statutes completed by a fresh law in October 1893. Moreover, under the terms of the 1893 law the Special Gymnastic School for physical education teachers was

institutionalised and was put under the control of the Central Gymnasium's director.²⁵ Financial difficulties, however, had negative consequences on the Special Gymnastic School, which opened its gates to students in 1896 after a three-year delay to be renamed the School of Gymnasts three years later.²⁶ The first meeting on physical exercise was held in 1897 at the initiative of the Pan-Hellenic Gymnastic Association. At the meeting matters touching on the improvement and promotion of physical exercise in public schools received priority. Regrettably, the Greek-Turkish war of 1897 put an end to all these praiseworthy attempts.²⁷ The turbulent years of the early twentieth century saw little progress in physical education in the form of sport. In 1918 the School of Gymnasts was renamed the College of Gymnastics²⁸ and was officially recognised as an Institute of higher education in 1929.²⁹

The status of physical exercise, however, was improving little by little, thanks to inspirational pioneers such as Phokianos and Ioannes Chryssafes, Director of the Physical Education Department in the Ministry of Education. In 1932, the Gymnastic Academy replaced the College of Gymnastics in an effort to upgrade and promote the study of sport and in the wake of the Venizelos government's policy on education, which recognised sport as integral part of modern education.³⁰ The term 'pedagogical' was attributed to physical exercise for the first time in the 1910 curriculum of the School of Gymnasts and then in that of the College of Gymnastics from 1918 until 1929. The term 'pedagogical' now replaced the earlier term 'physical exercise on immovable objects' of the late nineteenth century curricula. The amended term indicated, in a large measure, the transition from the German model of physical exercise, which focused on the development of muscular strength to the Swedish gymnastic model, which aimed at the improvement of health and was sanctioned in higher institutes and state schools in the early twentieth century due to the efforts of liberal educational reforms.³¹

Ioannes Chryssafes, the man, who dominated the field of sport in Greece in the early twentieth century, was the first to introduce the Swedish model into the state schools in 1909 thus supplanting the French-German system predominant from 1893 to 1909.³² More significantly, the foundation of the Physical Education Department in 1917 was regarded as a further positive step for the improvement and promotion of physical exercise. The direction and inspection of physical exercise, it was hoped, might be efficiently supervised by an ad hoc committee whose members would keep abreast of developments in sport in Europe.³³ Despite such good intentions and meritorious efforts to reintroduce physical exercise, drill instruction manuals were distributed to state schools in the mid-1920s.³⁴ Moreover, the Physical Education Department, which had been created in 1917, was finally made permanent by two decrees of 1925 and 1926.³⁵ It seems that recession and poverty resulting from the Great War and the Asia Minor disaster in combination with government indifference to sports matters had badly influenced the evolution of physical exercise. For this reason, Chryssafes devoted considerable energy and time in an effort to obtain government consent for the financing of the school athletic activities. He was successful. Modern sports began in state schools and professional trainers undertook the training of the young.³⁶

Greece had been the cradle of sport. From ancient times, sport was closely interwoven with the life of the Greek nation. In the birthplace of the Muses and Graces, where harmony and balance between word and action, spirit and body were cultivated, the 'agonistiki' flourished. It was regarded as a divine gift to man with the purpose of developing harmoniously his physical and spiritual virtues. Even during the Ottoman occupation of Greece from the mid-fifteenth to the early nineteenth century, the population continued to participate in contests similar to those of antiquity, which, however, in contrast to classical times were staged extempore.³⁷ When the Greek War

of Independence came to a successful conclusion, the construction of a public gymnasium in Nafplion, the first capital of Greece in 1834, was seen as an indication of government concern for sport.³⁸ The establishment, however, of a Pan-Hellenic festival modeled on the ancient cult festivals and on the games held at Olympia was repeatedly proposed after the emergence of the modern Greek state and particularly during the reign of King Otto (1833-1862). It seems that the proposal drew the attention of the government as it is documented by the memorandum submitted by Ioannes Kolettes, Minister of Interior, to the government. Kolettes suggested that pan-Hellenic games should be founded, following the principles of the ancient games, and including nude athletics, equestrian and music contests. Trade expositions and cultural and athletic events could take place simultaneously. Kolettes was possibly affected by a Royal Decree of February 9th 1837, which concerned the promotion of national industry, agriculture and cattle breeding through goods expositions. The date for competitions was set, but, for unknown reasons, important athletic events saw the light of day in Greece only in 1859 when the first 'Olympia' games were held.³⁹

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Evangelos Zappas (1800-1865), Greek by birth, who had made a great fortune in Rumania through real estate and other business ventures, influenced by the Greek War of Independence (1821-1827) and inspired by the Greek poet Panagiotis Soutsos, who, in a journal article in 1856, suggested that Greece should revive the ancient Olympic games, Zappas conceived the ambitious idea of reviving the ancient games at his own expense. When in 1856 Zappas made known his intentions to King Otto, the King delegated the matter to Alexander Rangaves, a classical scholar and Foreign Minister. Rangaves considered athleticism an anachronism from the primitive ancient past, simply not done in the modern world. For this reason, Rangaves wrote to Zappas that Greece should first develop its industry and economy promoting manufactured goods. Sport came second

and was a matter of little importance.⁴⁰ Thus, he suggested that industrial and agricultural expositions should be staged every four years. Nevertheless, Rangaves did not want to reject Zappas' original idea for the revival of the Olympic Games and for this reason he cautiously noted that the agricultural and industrial expositions could be held together with some ancient athletic events just to amuse the visitors. Zappas agreed with Rangaves' proposal with the proviso that athletic events and goods expositions would be staged simultaneously. The condition was accepted. The correspondence between the Greek Embassy in Bucharest and the Foreign Minister indicates the deliberation, which finally resulted in a Royal Decree on 28 August 1858.⁴¹ The Decree consolidated Zappas' donation to the Greek government and sanctioned the 'Olympia' that included industrial, agricultural and cattle-breeding expositions and athletic events. The events were to be held in Athens every four years. The Committee for the Promotion of National Industry, which had been formed in 1837, was entrusted to stage the goods expositions and the competitions, which were authorised to include equestrian, nude athletics and music contests.⁴²

The first 'Olympia' took place in 1859 at the 'Loudovikou' Square in Athens. Although Zappas had sent money for the excavation and restoration of the ancient Panathinaikon Stadium, for unknown reasons, no work was done in it. As agreed, goods exposition and competitions were held simultaneously. A short distance race (the 'diavlos'), a long distance race (the 'dolichos'), discus and javelin throwing and long jump were included in the athletic events. Athletes from all over the Greek-speaking world came to Athens to be involved in the competitions as in ancient times. King Otto, members of government and the local authorities graced the event with their presence. Despite good intentions, however, the 1859 'Olympia' were not well organised. Only a few spectators at the front could attend the events, which took place at the small square of the city. Nevertheless, it was a beginning.⁴³ Political instability

and social unrest followed the first 'Olympia'. King Otto's intervention in the formation of the new government resulted in revolutionary attempts, political disputes and eventually in Otto's dethronement in 1862. William-George-Christian, heir to the throne of Denmark, was enthroned in Greece in October 1863 under the name George I.⁴⁴

Evangelos Zappas, the financier of the 'Olympia', died in 1865. Before his death he bequeathed his fortune to Constantine Zappas, his cousin, under the condition that the 'Olympia' would be financed and promoted. More importantly, Constantine Zappas should leave his cousin's fortune to the Greek state after his own death.⁴⁵ A Committee was formed immediately, the Committee of the 'Olympia', which was entrusted with the handling of Zappas' legacy, and was consolidated by Royal Decree in August 1865.⁴⁶ The Committee undertook the construction of an exhibition building and the restoration of the ancient Panathinaikon Stadium and was engaged to stage goods expositions and competitions. In 1869 the Committee unanimously decided that a suitable time had arrived for the resumption of the Games.⁴⁷ The second 'Olympia' occurred in 1870 and this time took place in the Panathinaikon Stadium, which had already been excavated by the German archaeologist Ernst Ziller in 1869 and had been suitably prepared for the athletic events.⁴⁸ Once again, athletes from all over the Greek-speaking world met at the stadium. 30,000 spectators flocked to the renovated stadium to attend the games, which opened with a hymn. They included only track and field events. The athletes competed in a spirit of fair competition while the crowd applauded their performances with enthusiasm. The victors received an olive wreath, just as in ancient Olympia, crowned by King George I. According to David Young, the games were hailed as a successful event and the newspapers of the time reported that although the 1859 'Olympia' games had failed to win the title of the first modern Olympics, however, the 1870 games deserved this title.⁴⁹ The competitors were all Greeks but so they were in antiquity.

The third 'Olympia' took place in 1875. The event was attended by a small number of spectators; the official guests made long and boring speeches and the 'Olympia' Committee spent almost no money to prepare the athletes and the stadium. It should be mentioned here that in the meantime the construction of a new gymnasium, which had been financed by the 'Olympia' Committee, was completed (1874) and was put under the direction of Ioannes Phokianos. Young athletes and students now had free access to the gymnasium and could prepare themselves for the 'Olympia'.⁵⁰ In 1888 and although the construction of the Zappeion Mansion, which was designed to be host to goods expositions, was completed, the 'Olympia' Committee had reservations about the stage of the games. Possibly, lack of money stood in the way of the games inasmuch as the Rumanian government, for unknown reasons, had put obstacles in the transfer of Zappas' liquidated fortune from Rumania to Greece. In consequence, the Committee of the 'Olympia', which had invested a great part of Zappas' legacy in the construction of the Zappeion Mansion, found itself in the unfortunate position of having no money left.⁵¹ After such developments, Phokianos attempted to stage athletic events on 30 April and on 12 May 1889. The competitions were held at the Central Gymnasium of Athens. This was the last time the 'Olympia' saw the light of day.⁵² Nevertheless, the 'Olympia' games were followed by the Pan-Hellenic games held in 1891 and 1893.⁵³

The 1896 modern Olympic Games revived by Baron Pierre de Coubertin inaugurated a new era in modern sport in Greece. It is not known the precise date when Coubertin struck upon the project of restoring the Olympic Games. Archaeological excavations, which had taken place between the years 1875 and 1881 at Olympia, certainly had an impact on Coubertin. It is also possible that during a visit to America in 1889, his plan for the revival of the ancient games was encouraged following a meeting with William M. Sloane, historian and professor at Princeton

University.⁵⁴ More importantly, it was the local 'Olympian games' held at Much Wenlock, a small town in Shropshire, that came closer to Coubertin's plan for restoring the ancient games. Coubertin had been corresponding with the physician and teacher Dr William Penny Brookes, founder of these games in 1850. Coubertin attended Brookes' 'Olympics' in 1890. Dr Brookes discussed with Coubertin about the 'Olympia' games that took place in Athens in 1859, 1870, 1875 and 1889. Brookes had openly supported the Zappas 'Olympia' in Athens and had established a silver cup as prize.⁵⁵ In November 1892, Coubertin was in a position to propose the revival of the ancient games, for the first time explicitly in a public forum, at the close of a lecture on modern sport at the Sorbonne. He was pursuing ideological ends, not merely pragmatic ones. He sought to restore the ancient harmony between the body and the mind. Coubertin's main priority was the idea of 'peace among nations' recognising the participating athletes as 'ambassadors of peace'.⁵⁶

Athens was host to the first Olympic Games in 1896 in the face of the opposition of Charilaos Trikoupes, the Prime Minister, due to financial difficulties the country faced in the wake of the 1893 national bankruptcy.⁵⁷ Dr W. Brookes, prior to the Congress of Paris in 1894, had sent a letter to the Greek Prime Minister asking his support of the Paris Congress and his approval for the revival of the Olympic Games.⁵⁸ The first modern Olympic Games finally took place thanks to the generous donation of George Averof, a Greek patriot, who financed the restoration of the Panathinaikon Stadium. Thus, on April 1896, King George II of Greece solemnly opened the first modern Olympiad in the presence of the royal family, ministers, the diplomatic corps and a huge crowd that grew in number over the next few days. King Alexander of Serbia, the Grand Duke George of Russia and the Archduchess Maria Theresia of Austria graced the event with their presence. The fencing competitions were held at the Zappeion Exhibition Hall, the cycling races at the Phaleron cycling track, the water

events in Zea Bay while the shooting and the other athletic events took place at the magnificent Panathinaikon Stadium.⁵⁹ The first modern Olympics had a positive impact on modern sport in Greece. A number of sporting clubs, athletic societies and organisations saw the light of day and it was no coincident that a year later, in 1897, the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association, the earliest established athletic federation in Greece, was founded.⁶⁰

In the opening years of the twentieth century, the 'Mid-Olympics' were held in Athens in 1906 and, beyond all expectation, were successful. The ten days of the Games attracted the interest of both performers and spectators. The competitions began early in the morning and continued until late in the evening with top-quality contests: fencing took place in the Zappeion Mansion, tennis at the playing ground of the Gymnastic Club and truck events at the Panathinaikon Stadium.⁶¹ The Greeks wanted to use the occasion to hold Interim Games in Greece two years after the main Games. Coubertin did not attend the 1906 Games since he saw them as detrimental to the four-year rhythm that had been set up. The International Olympic Committee, however, supported them.⁶² In the same year, the inauguration of the University Championship in Greece was seen as conducive to the development of the modern sports movement.⁶³ Nevertheless, modern sport in Greece did not thrive for long. In the second decade of the twentieth century, it was adversely affected by the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), the Great War, which followed and by the unsuccessful Greek expedition to Asia Minor (1919-1922), a great tragedy for the nation. In short, the country found itself in an unfortunate situation and sport was a matter of little concern to the government. Notwithstanding and despite the various national problems, the 'Panathenaia' games were initiated in 1921 paving the way for numerous athletic events at national level where, regrettably, no remarkable performances were

achieved.⁶⁴ Wars and financial problems affected sport negatively. Even the Olympic Committee received state subsidies only for the 1924 Paris Games.⁶⁵

In the same period of time, football was the most popular sport in Greece. It was introduced into the country in 1895 and was included in the 1896 Olympics in Athens, a fact that stimulated the young to be involved in it in the following years. Football clubs were created in Athens, Piraeus, Thessaloniki as well as in Constantinople and Smyrna where many Greeks were living. Thessaloniki was the first to promote football in the country inasmuch British men, Italians, Frenchmen and Belgians, who were living in the city, familiarised the young with the sport.⁶⁶ The first football matches at national level were held in 1906. The performance of the Greek football team, however, at the 1906 'Mid-Olympics' in Athens was very poor.⁶⁷ Two of the most popular and long-lived football associations in Greece were created in the early twentieth century: the 'Panathenaikos' Football and Athletic Association of Athens in 1908 and a little later, the 'Society of Piraeus Sports Enthusiasts', which, in 1926, was renamed the 'Olympiakos' Association of the Piraeus Sports Enthusiasts, known nowadays as 'Olympiakos' Football and Athletic Association of Piraeus.⁶⁸ Moreover, in the first decade of the twentieth century, the 'Panionios' and the 'Apollo' football clubs were founded by Greeks who were living in Smyrna while the 'Athletic Union of Constantinople' was created by Greeks who were living in Constantinople. In 1910, the football clubs throughout the country came under the control of the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association, which, in the same year, staged the Hellenic football championship. The Hellenic Football Federation was created in the 1920s in an effort to give an impulse to football while the Hellenic Football Cup was initiated in 1932.⁶⁹

Before we discuss the development of modern sport in Greece from the late 1920s to 1932, the years that Venizelos' third government (1928-1932) took

considerable measures for the promotion of sport in the country, a consideration of the political situation in Greece in the 1920s will provide useful information about the reasons that sport received no government attention throughout the 1920s. The political situation in Greece in the 1920s was marked by conflict between two major political parties: 'Venizelism' and 'Antivenizelism'. Each was identified with a particular constitutional regime: the former with the Republic, the latter with the Monarchy. The dominant component of 'Venizelism' was the Liberal Party founded and led by Eleftherios Venizelos. On the 'Antivenizelist' side, the major and dominant party was the People's Party, founded by Demetrios Gounares, and led, during the interwar period, by his successor Panages Tsaldares.⁷⁰ The Asia Minor disaster (in 1922) was a turning point for Greece in more than one respect. It not only ended a decade of successive wars, but also buried the expansionist policy (the Great Idea), which dominated the politics of the Modern Greek state for a whole century. In September 1922 the remnants of the Greek army, which had evacuated Asia Minor, overthrew the 'Antivenizelist' regime and during the night of 23rd to 24th September, Colonel Nikolaos Plastiras and Stylianos Gonatas brought off a coup, the 'Revolution.'⁷¹ In January 1924, the 'Revolution' surrendered its authority to the Fourth Constituent Assembly and Eleftherios Venizelos returned to Greece quitting temporarily his voluntary exile to Paris and yielding to the urgent appeals of almost all parties. His aim was to promote reconciliation with 'Antivenizelism' and resolve the regime issue by means of a fair referendum, which could secure general approval.⁷²

Despite his high hopes, Venizelos failed both to achieve an understanding with 'Antivenizelism' and to check the centrifugal tendencies in his own camp. His final resignation and departure from Greece (on 10 March 1924) accelerated the tendencies he failed to check. A subsequent cabinet under Georgios Kafandares resigned under military pressure and, finally, in March 1924, the Viceroy Admiral Pavlos Koudouriotes,

who was on friendly terms with the Democratic Party, called upon Alexander Papanastassiou to form a government.⁷³ Papanastassiou government was actually formed on 12 March 1924.⁷⁴ The new government reported to the Greek Parliament and presented an outline of policies that would be followed. Finally on 25 March, the Fourth Greek Constituent Assembly proclaimed Greece a Republic.⁷⁵ The first Parliamentary Democracy was doomed to fail soon after its proclamation for it was a structure of political tension with no solid foundations. Although on 1 May 1924, both the civil servants and the army had taken the oath of allegiance to Democracy, parliamentary members such as the Minister of War and General Kondyles aspired to the overthrow of the Premier Alexander Papanastassiou and assumption of the reins of government.⁷⁶ Meanwhile, on 25 June 1924, insubordination in the army escalated. In June, naval officers demonstrated against the First Lord of the Admiralty, opposing unaccountable arbitrary decision-making while an individual campaign was organized by General Theodoros Pagalos.⁷⁷ These events ultimately resulted in the overthrow of Papanastassiou government. That first democratic cabinet also faced serious labour unrest when seamen, bakery workers and shoemakers went on strike asking for a wage rise in April 1924. Notwithstanding, that political question was settled, the referendum was held and reconciliation among the rival parties was attempted.⁷⁸ After political instability of several months, finally on 7 October 1924, a government was formed under Andreas Michalakopoulos, a leading politician and scholar.⁷⁹ However, in March 1925, the new government was also destined to face recurring labour unrests when railway employees, seamen, workers and civil servants went in succession on strike for higher wages. Every claim was rejected. On the top of that, the first military conspiracy occurred in November 1925. It was nipped in the bud.⁸⁰

The political situation changed radically when General Theodoros Pagalos, Chief of the Greek army during Asia Minor's venture (1919 –1922), brought off a coup

and assumed the reins of government on 25 June 1925. From June 1925 until August 1926, Pagalos remained in government first as Premier, and later as President of the Republic.⁸¹ The united opposition of all parties and the disastrous mismanagement of financial and foreign affairs eventually created the conditions for the overthrow of the Pagalos dictatorship. This was carried out by General Kodyles, in August 1926 who set up his headquarters in the War Office.⁸² Political prisoners were released on his orders and Admiral Pavlos Koudouriotes was recalled to assume the office of the President of the Democracy.⁸³ In his proclamation to the Greek people, Kodyles promised that the country would soon be back to normality but not to a parliamentary system. Meanwhile, the dictator Pagalos was arrested and imprisoned. He was released by Eleftherios Venizelos in 1928. His case was heard in April 1930 and his two-year imprisonment and the deprivation of his civil rights were not based on the political crimes he committed but the general damages the Greek state had suffered.⁸⁴ The downfall of the Pagalos dictatorship was followed by a widespread demand for the extension of all-party cooperation, and a swift return to parliamentary normalcy through a coalition government, or an 'ecumenical' government. Renewed mutual suspicion, however, and the maneuvers of the political leaders, anxious to gain advantage within their own party, prevented the immediate formation of an 'ecumenical' government. General Kodyles was allowed to form a cabinet and play a decisive role in preparing the election. The election took place on 7 November 1926 and was the first to be held in Greece under proportional representation.⁸⁵

Eventually, a month later, the 'ecumenical' cabinet was formed with the participation of the Progressive Liberals, the Conservative Liberals, the Farmer-Labour Party, the People's Party and the Free Opinion Party under the premiership of Alexander Zaimis. However, the new cabinet, instead of settling the regime issue once and for all, simply promised to provide the country with a Constitution, which had been

in limbo since 1924.⁸⁶ The new Constitution, issued on 3 June 1927, was considered one of the most progressive in the recent Greek history.⁸⁷ Nonetheless, a cabinet crisis broke out in August 1927 and continued until May 1928. An intense demand for a change of government resulted. The leading Greek politician Eleftherios Venizelos met this demand. On 23 May 1928, he intimated to the Greek people his intention to revert to active politics. In August of the same year he won the elections.⁸⁸

From the early 1929 an ideological and organizational reconstruction of sport began in Greece. Venizelos took the lead. As already noted, Venizelos, Premier from August 1928, often revealed, in his political speeches to the audience, his interest in modern sport and pointed out the significant role sport could play in life. In February 1929, when delivering a speech to the young of his Party, Venizelos recommended involvement in athletic activities and laid stress on sport's role in the formation of a sound character free of egocentricity, selfishness and eccentricity. He also called attention to the 'contribution of sport to the restoration of transnational relations and its role in the establishment of cultural and trade cooperation.'⁸⁹ Venizelos further advised his audience to devote time and energy to sports activities:

...Through sport, the young can improve mental and physical efficiency; they can enhance the pleasures of life and can equip themselves to confront its difficulties successfully.⁹⁰

Self-evidently, Venizelos had a philosophy of sport with physiological, aesthetic and psychological components. In the early March 1929 and on the occasion of the official announcement of the trial 'Balkaníad' in Athens, the Premier again took the opportunity to speak about the values of sport:

...Sport has always been interwoven with the Greek nation's life and not only should modern Greeks hold it as an obligation, but also as a primarily sacred tradition that our ancestors' example imposes on us. Enthusiasm for sport should not be followed as a rising trend of the time by which the modern world is seduced. If sport is put into practice methodically and if the ancient Hellenic spirit inspires it, it will be, together with the reforms our government is promoting, one of the factors on which we

can pin our hopes for the improvement of the Greek nation. The present government, guardian of tradition and noble ideals and realising the active role sport can play in the nation's good physical state and in the pursuit of high ideals and values will offer moral and financial support to sport.⁹¹

Venizelos appeared sensitive to a civic ethos with sport as the instrument of moral conditioning, as a mechanism of self-control, a desirable antidote to vainglory and conceit and as a means of personal pleasure. In July 1929, the Ministry of Education requested the Sports Associations and private sports clubs throughout the country to submit records of their membership in order to draft a statistical register. Furthermore, the Sports Associations had to notify officially the Ministry of Education of the athletic facilities and sports equipment they needed. A full list of athletic events and the number of the athletes involved was also to be submitted to the Ministry by the Sports Associations.⁹²

The 1929 trial 'Balkaniad' (which will be discussed in detail later) aroused great excitement in the world of sport. Venizelos, returning to Athens from Paris, complimented Michael Rinopoulos, President of the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association, on the new Games. The Prime Minister observed:

...The event has attracted the attention and interest of the Balkan world of sport and raises hopes and expectations for peace and understanding in the area. The development of modern sport in the Balkan Peninsula is now an attainable goal.⁹³

It is clear that Venizelos recognised and appreciated the political and diplomatic role of the Games in the area. Furthermore, he expressed satisfaction with the announcement of Turkey's involvement in the 1930 Games and added that 'the circle of the competing states now is broadened and the Games will gain in reputation inside and outside the Balkans.'⁹⁴ 'His government', he declared, 'recognises that the regional meetings offer fresh opportunities for rapprochement and collaboration.'⁹⁵ Venizelos suggested that a sports meeting should be held presided over by him to discuss and promote matters

concerning the reconstruction of sport.⁹⁶ In the meantime, a new law draft came under discussion. It provided for the expropriation of land and the construction of public gymnasiums, the promotion of physical exercise in public schools and the improvement of sports studies. Considerable changes and improvements in the curricula of the School of Gymnastics as well as the financing of sport from the government budget came within the terms of the 1929 law draft.⁹⁷

The historic conference on sport, under the presidency of Venizelos, was held on 13 November 1929. Constantine Gontikas, Minister of Education, Ioannes Chryssafes, Director at the Physical Education Department, members of Parliament, representatives of the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association, Michael Rinopoulos, representative of the Olympic Committee and sports delegates from Thessaloniki attended the session. Of the most important items on the agenda were those touching on the promotion of physical education in public schools, the improvement of the curricula of the Physical Education Institute and the construction of public gymnasiums.⁹⁸ Matters concerning the grant of land by municipalities and cloisters for the creation of sports installations and the payment of the maintenance expenses of the public gymnasiums were also discussed. The increase in the funds for school sports activities received priority.⁹⁹ The 1929 meeting was positive. The annual budget for sport doubled from ten millions drachmas to twenty millions and it was agreed that a part (2%) of the municipalities and communities' budget should be spent on school sports activities. More importantly, the agreement to expropriate land for the construction of modern athletic installations and to finance further sports studies (for physical education teachers) in Europe were positive steps for sport's growth.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, Ioannes Chryssafes, Director of the Physical Education Department and an active member of the Bureau for Sports Education and the Union 'Pedagogique Universelle' initiated by Coubertin in 1926, met the Prime Minister and discussed with

him matters touching on physical education in public schools and the establishment of the 'Classical Games'. Chryssafes, close friend of Pierre de Coubertin, proposed and advocated the establishment of the 'Classical' or 'Panathenaia' Games in 1919. Coubertin was in favour of Chryssafes' idea and openly supported it throughout the 1920s.¹⁰¹

The government's concern for sport was stressed by Venizelos on every appropriate occasion. In a political speech in Alexandroupolis, on 7 May 1930, for example, he reviewed the government policy in health and education and declared himself optimistic about sport in Greece. He also expressed the wish that the new government measures would increasingly motivate the Greek nation to be energetically involved in physical education in the form of sport.¹⁰² In an effort to show that deeds are better than words, the government, a few months before the official inauguration of the 1930 Balkan Games, announced that it was to support the Games financially, and, in due course, put a considerable sum of money at the disposal of the Organizing Committee.¹⁰³ In a ministerial circular to the Sports Associations, however, George Papandreou, Minister of Education, made clear that governmental support of sport in general and the Games in particular was dependant on the following conditions: all the involved athletes were motivated by unselfish motives and were inspired by the spirit of fair competition. In addition, the government announced that regional Sports Supervisory Committees were to be created so that a decentralised system for sport's promotion could be developed. The Ministry of Education had the responsibility to implement the government resolutions on sport and to oversee their implementation.¹⁰⁴

The law of 16th August 1929 was one of several attempts to give an impulse to sport and was drafted to amend and improve previous provisions. Under the terms of the law, physical exercise was obligatory for schoolboys and girls and the access to

public gymnasiums was free and unconditional. The Physical Education Department, in close cooperation with the associated department of the Ministry of Education, was to direct and monitor physical exercise in public schools. Moreover, Physical Education Unions were to be created with economic support by the Ministry.¹⁰⁵ It was further stipulated that public land would be granted to the Physical Education Unions for the construction of modern athletic facilities. A small number of physical education teachers were to go to European Physical Education Institutes for further sports studies. New drill instruction manuals were written to replace the old ones and were sent to public schools and the Physical Education Institute in Athens. The Physical Education Department, within the terms of the law, had control over the Physical Education Unions throughout the country, the Olympic Committee, the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association and the National Football Association.¹⁰⁶

In addition, a Special Advisory Council composed of the Director of the Physical Education Department, an education advisor, a representative of the Olympic Committee, two representatives of the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association, a representative of the Football Association, the Director of the School of Gymnastics and two army officers was provided by the 1929 law. The Advisory Council was entrusted to draft and submit to the Ministry of Education a register of the officially recognised Sports Associations. It was also entrusted to work out the expenses for sport to be met by the government budget.¹⁰⁷ Regional Physical Education Committees made up of the Prefect and the Mayor of the area, a physical education teacher and an educator, a high-ranking officer, the hygiene inspector or the school doctor and two representatives of the local Sports Unions, was among the additional measures for sport's growth. Public land, as noted above, was to be expropriated and granted to the Physical Education Committees. At the Committees' expense, gymnasiums were to be constructed and fields, after the necessary adaptations, were to be used as playing

grounds.¹⁰⁸ A large number of decrees were issued continually from 1929 until 1932, which ensured the creation of modern gymnasiums and sports facilities throughout the country thus putting into practice the government promise for sport's promotion.¹⁰⁹

The establishment of the University Gymnasium of Thessaloniki was the outcome of the decree in late December 1929. The Gymnasium came under the inspection of a tripartite council elected annually by the Council of the Professors. Physical exercise was obligatory for the university students. Clergymen and disabled persons, however, were exempt from exercise. University students were accepted for the degree examination only if their involvement in the physical exercise programme was officially certified.¹¹⁰ By the same decree, the 'Classical Games' were to begin. The Games would take place between the Olympic Games and were to include contests from antiquity. The competitions were to follow regulations set by the Olympic Committee. Under the terms of the decree, the 'Classical Games' were to be financed by the Ministry of Education while the Olympic Committee was empowered to set the conditions under which the foreign athletes could be involved as well as to publicise the Games.¹¹¹ The 'Classical Games' were held only in 1930 at the ancient stadium of Delphi as part of the Delphic festivals organised by the Greek poet Agelos Sikelianos. Chryssafes died in 1932. His successors abandoned any idea of the 'Classical Games', which now were regarded as anachronism. Moreover, examinations for further sports studies in European Institutes were announced by the Ministry of Education on 19 November 1929. The selection was made by a Committee composed of the Director of the Physical Education Department, the Director of the School Hygiene Department, the General Inspector of Physical Education, the Director of the Ministry of Education and a foreign language teacher.¹¹²

Early in 1930, the Ministry of Education, in an effort to give further impulse to physical exercise in public school, issued drill instruction manuals, which were either translated from manuals in a foreign language or were written by Greek specialists.¹¹³ Finally, in May 1930, matters dealing with the administration of the University Gymnasium of Athens were settled by decree, which also set down the duties of the Gymnasium's Director. Examinations were approved for the employment of physical education teachers at the University Gymnasium and their professional responsibilities were stipulated by the same decree. Three hours of physical exercise per week at the University Gymnasium became compulsory for all first and second year students.¹¹⁴ Moreover, with ministerial approval, there was an increase in the number of the male and female students admitted to the College of Gymnastics.¹¹⁵

The second meeting on sport was held in Athens in late January 1931. At the opening ceremony, the sports representatives expressed their appreciative thanks for the government's interest in sport. The free access of schoolboys and girls to public gymnasiums and the development of a unanimously agreed and easily applied system to inspect the municipal and communal sports organisations, were among the most important items on the agenda. Furthermore, the formation of a committee to see to the implementation of the meeting's resolutions and to inquire into the new law was also agreed. The committee could present objections to the law draft and could submit proposals for the law's amendment and completion.¹¹⁶ In two well researched newspaper articles, which saw the light of day in June 1931, Ioannes Chryssafes, Director of the Physical Education Department and keen advocator of modern sport, presented a summary of Venizelos' government policy on sport from 1929 until 1931. Chryssafes first reviewed the state of sport in Greece in the early twentieth century:

...At the opening of the century, there were only two small and old public urban gymnasiums, one in Athens and the other in Patras, a small Greek town, and only ten other small gymnasiums existed scattered throughout the country. At this time also, a

small number of physical education teachers were appointed to public schools, but they had low status. All efforts to promote physical exercise produced no government interest. In December 1914, also by law, physical education teachers were promoted to the rank of secondary teachers. Conditions for physical education teachers became better. Their wages were considerably increased and their inferior position in schools was improved. In the meantime, the post of the General Inspector of Physical Education became equal in rank to that of the General Inspector of Secondary Education by law. The creation of the Physical Education Department in 1917 was the most important step for the promotion and improvement of matters concerning sport.¹¹⁷

Concluding, Chryssafes praised the government measures for modern sport between late 1928 and early 1931. The fact that, despite economic difficulties, physical education at public schools was adequately funded by the state budget revealed the extent of the Venizelos government's commitment to sport while the appointment of well-qualified teaching staff to the School of Gymnastics was a guarantee of future improvement in sports studies.¹¹⁸ These developments in conjunction with the government's support for sports studies (for physical education teachers) in Europe, the construction of gymnasiums and swimming pools and the creation of modern sports facilities at the School of Gymnastics opened up new horizons for sport in Greece.¹¹⁹

In a review of the Ministry's work on education and culture of the years 1931-1932, it was pointed out that sport was one of the Venizelos government's priorities.¹²⁰ Playing grounds were created at old and newly-constructed primary and secondary schools while cooperation between the Ministry of Education and municipalities and communities for the creation of sports facilities, was secured for the first time. Twenty school gymnasiums, three shooting grounds and eight swimming pools were completed in two years time. In comparison with the poor economic potentiality of the country, this was an achievement. Secondary and primary schools were also supplied with modern sports equipment. A modern, well-equipped gymnasium at the Gymnastic Academy, which replaced the School of Gymnastics in 1932, was to be completed by late 1932. The Academy was a new building modeled on European Institutes.¹²¹ In

addition, with ministerial approval, there was an increase in the number of the male and female students admitted to the College of Gymnastics.¹²² The year 1932 saw further reforms in education and sport when a fresh law came to amend and further improve previous provisions. Matters dealing with physical exercise, the Gymnastic Academy, public gymnasiums and the duties of the Olympic Committee were set down.¹²³ Annual school competitions were also ensured by the new law. Schoolboys and girls, who distinguished themselves at the competitions and public schools, which staged them successfully, were to be awarded special prizes.¹²⁴

The Physical Education Department and the associated department of the Ministry were to cooperate methodically to promote physical exercise. The Ministry of Education had control over the Sports Associations, funded the creation of sports facilities and saw to their maintenance.¹²⁵ Finally, the Gymnastic Academy was recognised as a Higher Institute directed by a four-member deanery. Admission to the Academy was only on examinations.¹²⁶ It should be noted that, from 1930 onwards, the construction of new public schools were modeled on modern technical specifications, which were designed by the French architect Em. Hebrard and were approved by the plenary session of the Education Council. Playing grounds were created for the first time in public schools at the state's expense¹²⁷ while the financing of physical exercise and shooting was settled by decree.¹²⁸ Rifle competitions, the 'Eleftheria', were also secured by law in 1932. The competitions took place annually at the shooting range of the Pan-Hellenic Shooting Association and followed International shooting regulations. Permission for involvement of schoolboys and girls in the 'Eleftheria' was officially given by the Ministry of Education.¹²⁹

Regarding women's sport in Greece in the same period of time, it began developing shakily in the 1920s. The 'Panionios' Gymnastic Association of Smyrna,

which moved from Smyrna to Athens, after the Asia Minor disaster in 1922, made every effort to promote women's sport in the country and thus from 1926 onwards women athletes were involved particularly in lawn tennis. The 'Panionios' Gymnastic Association organised in 1926, for the first time, tennis competitions for women in Athens and then in Thessaloniki in which again a small number of women athletes were involved.¹³⁰ A small number of women athletes too from Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Rumania participated in the Balkan tennis competitions, which were initiated in 1930.¹³¹ From 1931 onwards, Pan-Hellenic Athletic competitions for women were staged in Athens on an annual basis in which again a small number of women athletes were involved.¹³² On the other hand, in Europe, the foundation of the French Association of Women's Sport took place in 1917 and this was the first step for the promotion of women's sport. Two years later, in 1919, competitions for women were staged in Britain while the International Federation of Women's Sport was established in 1921 with Britain, Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, Spain and the USA founding members. The International Federation of Women's Sport staged the International Championship for women in Paris in 1922, then in Gothenburg, in Sweden in 1926, in Prague, in Czechoslovakia in 1930 and in London in 1934.¹³³ In fact, women's sport in Europe developed at a quicker step than women's sport in Greece and in the other Balkan countries.

2.2 Sport in the other Balkan countries from the second half of the nineteenth century to 1932

At the beginning of the twentieth century not only Greece but also the states of the Balkan Peninsula as a whole were preoccupied with efforts to overcome underdevelopment and poverty, which were a result of the long Ottoman occupation of the region. Understandably, when independence was achieved, sport received no government attention. Examining the development of sport in Bulgaria for example we

discover that the first Bulgarian Athletic Union the 'Unak' was established in 1895. It was, in essence, a sports organisation with a co-coordinating role inasmuch as government concern was for physical exercise rather than for athletic events.¹³⁴ However, long before the creation of the Bulgarian Sports Associations, the Greek minority in Bulgaria, in an attempt to give an impulse to the underdeveloped sports movement, staged competitions, which motivated the world of sport and attracted the interest of the local society. The Greek sports organisations were flourishing by the early twentieth century. However, after the exchange of populations between Greece and Bulgaria in 1919, these sporting organisations followed the fate of their founders and expired.¹³⁵ Bulgaria owed much to the sports movement in Czechoslovakia, where modern sport developed at a quick pace. The 'Sokol' Sports Association of Prague and the Pan-Slavic Games served as models to the athletic unions of Sofia in the second decade of the twentieth century. Bulgarian students, who had studied at various European universities and thus had been exposed to European sport, introduced their countrymen to modern sport.¹³⁶ In addition, the army officers played a vital role in the promotion of sport in Bulgaria. Due to the lack of public sports facilities sport was carried out at the army premises. In consequence, contests like shooting, fencing, cycling and equestrian events, which markedly contributed to military training, were promoted.¹³⁷ It should be noted that sport in Bulgaria developed after the Great War as response to the disarmament imposed on the defeated states by the victors. The government realised that the lack of systematic exercise could negatively affect the stamina and strength of the male population. For this reason, sport was seen as a substitute for the military training, which had been abolished.¹³⁸

Bulgaria was involved in the 1921 festival in Prague that was hosted by the Czechoslovak Worker Gymnastics Association from 26 to 29 June 1921 and it was advertised as the first unofficial worker Olympics. For millions of workers in the period

between the two world wars, sport was an integral part of the labour movement and worker sports clubs and associations existed in almost every country in Europe, in Canada and the United States of America, in Asia and South America. Worker sport rose and fell almost simultaneously. It flourished in the 1920s to decline in the late 1930s. Worker oppositional sport combined the notion of sport with socialist fellowship, solidarity and working-class culture. The founders of the worker sports movement believed that sport could play an important role in the struggle against capitalism, nationalism and militarism, which pervaded the bourgeois sports organizations. The worker sports clubs were anticipated to band together throughout the world in an effort to promote peace and good fellowship.¹³⁹ The late 1920s and early 1930s were marked by attempts to restore bourgeois-parliamentary democracy in Bulgaria, which suffered massive blows as the result of two coups and three consecutive wars-the Balkan Wars from 1912 to 1913 and the Great War from 1915. In addition, in 1923, there was a military-Fascist coup followed by a mass anti-Fascist uprising.¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the Bulgarian Olympic Committee was founded in 1923 and was followed by the recognition of a great deal of Bulgarian Sports Federations as members of the respective International Sports Federations. For example, the Bulgarian Football and Skiing Federations became members of the respective International Football and Skiing Federations in 1924, the Equestrian and Cycling Federations joined the International Equestrian and Cycling Federations in 1928, the Tennis Federation became member of the International Tennis Federation in 1930 while the Shooting and Gymnastics Federations (the Gymnastics Federation in Bulgaria was founded in 1924) joined the International Shooting and Gymnastics Federations in 1931.¹⁴¹

As elsewhere, football was the most popular sport in Bulgaria. It was introduced into the country in the mid-1890s when ten Swiss athletes were invited to Bulgaria to be teachers of gymnastics in high schools (1893-1894). One of these Swiss, George

De Regibeaus, was the first to introduce football to the schoolboys of a public school in Varna while Carl Champeau, Swiss too, familiarised the pupils of a high school in Sofia with the sport. Some years later, in 1897, Alois Buhnter and Jacques Fardel, coaches from Switzerland, edited the regulations of football in Bulgaria.¹⁴² In the first decade of the twentieth century, football gained popularity. In 1909, Sava Kirov was the founder of the Sofia Football Club, which became the corner stone of the development of football in the country. Four years later (in 1913), the 'Botev' and 'Razvitie' football societies united to form the 'Slavia' Football Club. One of the most popular football clubs, the 'Levski' Football Club, was created in 1914 while the Bulgarian National Sports Federation, which controlled and headed the football clubs in Bulgaria until 1945, was founded in 1923. It was renamed Central Football Committee (1945-1948), then Republican Football Section (1948-1962) and finally Bulgarian Football Federation (1962-1985). In 1985 the Bulgarian Football Union replaced the Bulgarian Football Federation.¹⁴³ The national football team made its debut in the 1924 Paris Olympics and crossed the national border many times throughout the 1920s.¹⁴⁴ It won the Balkan Football Cup in Belgrade in 1932¹⁴⁵ and then in Sofia in 1935.¹⁴⁶

As far as women's sport in Bulgaria is concerned, it developed at a slow pace too. Sports contributing to military training only developed and were organised by men for men. Thus women's athletic clubs were very rare. The establishment of a women's youth club in 1897 in Burgas made a sensation. No Bulgarian women were involved in the Olympics. From its inception in 1923, the Bulgarian Olympic Committee (BOC) was clearly a male domain. One woman only, representative of the skating club, was accepted to the BOC (Bulgarian Olympic Committee) in 1930. Private and state sports organizations were all male-dominated. In consequence, they advocated virility, discipline, a modest and Spartan life and readiness to fight.¹⁴⁷ With some exceptions such as the 1931 Sport Law concerning women's involvement in sport, women were

never recognised as part of the society with its own needs and no particular policies were adopted for them. In reality, women in society in general and in sport in particular enjoyed only modest participation and were unable to reach standards of performance to qualify for national and international representation.¹⁴⁸ Regarding physical exercise in the Bulgarian public schools, it was directed and inspected by the Office of the State Head Inspector of Physical Education that was made permanent in 1924. Some years later, the founders of the Physical Education Office were consulted to contribute to the efforts to systematise and promote physical exercise and to give an impulse to modern sport in Bulgaria.¹⁴⁹ A considerable number of Bulgarian champions emerged from competitions held at Plovdiv in 1926. Economic difficulties, however, and the relatively little government interest in sport acted together to produce long-term stagnation.¹⁵⁰ The Bulgarian Olympic Committee failed to secure state subsidy and the lack of necessary support retarded the growth of modern sport. It was therefore no coincident that Bulgarian athletes became involved in international athletics in 1924 and 1936 only while their performances remained below standard until early in the 1950s.¹⁵¹

Sport in Yugoslavia made its first shaky steps in the mid nineteenth century. However, the creation of the Serbian Gymnastic and Wrestling Associations in Belgrade in 1857 failed to act as a stimulus to the establishment of sports clubs throughout the country. Sport could not develop because of serious national, social and financial problems. In the late nineteenth century, however, Yugoslavia was amenable to the promotion of modern sports in the country although poverty and political instability offered no opportunities for sport's growth.¹⁵² The 1896 Olympic Games attracted the attention of King Alexander of Yugoslavia who visited Athens at the time they were being held. Returning to Belgrade, Alexander gave his blessing to Yugoslavia's participation in the International Olympic movement. The Yugoslav Olympic Committee was established in 1910 and modern sport received something of

a boost in the early twentieth century.¹⁵³ Yugoslav athletes participated in the 1921 Prague festival, the first unofficial Worker Olympics. It should be noted here that the worker Olympics were staged to reveal opposition to chauvinism, racism, sexism and social exclusivity. They were amateur, organized for the edification and enjoyment of workingmen and women and demonstrated the fundamental unity of all working people irrespective of colour, creed, sex or national origin.¹⁵⁴

Croatia, the region where sport grew speedily in the opening of the twentieth century, took the initiative in creating the first Yugoslav Athletic Association in order to support and upgrade the sports movement. The first assembly took place in Zagreb in September 1921 with the participation of sports delegates from Zagreb, Ljubljana, Split, Sarajevo, Subotica, Sombor and Zrenjanin (Beckerek).¹⁵⁵ Despite good intentions and some meritorious efforts, social and political unrest together with financial difficulties acted as brake to sport's evolution. Yugoslavia failed to compete successfully in sport in Europe in the interwar years. It achieved, however, excellent performances in football. The first football federation of the former Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was founded in Zagreb in 1919. The national football team gave its first international match in Antwerp in 1920. The Football Federation of Yugoslavia, 'Fudbalski Savez Jugoslavije' in its Yugoslav name, moved its headquarters to Belgrade in 1929.¹⁵⁶ Yugoslavia and Rumania were the only Balkan countries to be involved in the first Football World Cup in Uruguay, Argentina in 1930. In the first round, Yugoslavia played versus Brazil and then versus Bolivia and defeated both teams. In the semi finals, however, it was beaten by Uruguay. Yugoslavia did not participate in the 1934 and 1938 football World Cup.¹⁵⁷

The years after the Great War saw the early growth of sport in Rumania. In spite of adverse circumstances and economic backwardness, sport developed at a

brisk pace. The Rumanian Olympic Committee was established in 1919 and in the same year Rumanian athletes were involved in the 'Inter-Allied' Games in Paris.¹⁵⁸ In 1920 the Olympic Committee was reconstituted to embrace sports representatives from both the urban and rural areas. Sports clubs with an active membership were created and, although football was the most popular sport in the country, the populace were also encouraged to be involved in modern sports like basketball, volleyball, handball, rowing, mountaineering and tennis. The involvement of Rumanian athletes in the 1924 and 1928 Olympics afforded them the opportunity to compete with athletes superior to them, to improve their performances and to equip themselves to compete successfully at national and international level.¹⁵⁹ Football was the most popular sport in Rumania as elsewhere. Rumania was involved in the 1930 Football World Cup and was beaten by Uruguay in the first round. It was the only Balkan state which participated again in the 1934 and 1938 Football World Cups, held in Italy and France respectively, without, however, achieving to distinguish itself.¹⁶⁰

Concerning physical exercise in Rumania, it was modeled on the Swedish system of exercise. Swedish gymnastics was introduced into public schools in 1922 and was consolidated by law in June 1923.¹⁶¹ Under the terms of the law, military drill was also sanctioned in public schools in order to promote soldierly bearing, stamina and fighting fitness. The establishment of the National Physical Education Office (ONEF) and the National Physical Education Institute (INEF) was provided by the same law. It was intended that they should co-operate harmoniously with the Ministry of Defence and Health. In 1929, in an effort to keep pace with the speedy evolution of physical exercise in Europe, the provisions of the 1923 physical exercise law were amended.¹⁶² In addition, in the late 1920s the Rumanian Federation of Athletic Associations (FSSR), which was created in 1912 and joined the International Athletic Federation in 1923, was reconstructed in order to give an effective impulse to modern

sport.¹⁶³ The fresh law of 1929 stipulated that amateur and professional sports organisations and societies were to be reconstructed and that athletic federations were to be created for each of the modern sports separately in an effort to promote specialization in various sports and to improve the athletes' preparation and performances. In 1930, in the wake of some fresh measures in sport, the Federation of Rumanian Athletic Associations was replaced by the Union of the Rumanian Sports Federations (UFSR), which aspired to create a well-constructed system for sport's development and control.¹⁶⁴ More importantly, the foundation of sports committees came within the provisions of the 1929 law. The committees were entrusted to supply the athletic clubs and associations with sports equipment and to stage athletic events at national and international level. It was hoped that in this way the young might be encouraged to be actively involved in modern sports. In 1929, Octav Luchid, representative of the Union of the Rumanian Sports Federations, approved the Founding Protocol of the Balkan Games.¹⁶⁵

Concerning modern sport in Turkey, it was introduced mainly by European diplomats who were living in the country during the nineteenth century. Gymnastics, in the form of modern sport, emerged in Turkey only when the Constitution of 1876 was restored (in 1908). From the beginning, the development of modern sport in Turkey was problematic since economic, political and social problems had an adverse impact on it. The Committee of Union and Progress, which came to power in July 1908, initiated a rapid modernisation process, which involved a 'national generation' that would embrace the existing constitutional system, would participate in sporting events on feast days and in special events organised for them and would enjoy health and physical discipline and training. Thus the Turkish Power Association was established in 1913 to promote physical education and sports activities. The improvement of the people's health, the reinforcement of physical strength and the creation of a vigorous

nation as a contingency in times of hardship were among the aims of the Turkish Power Association.¹⁶⁶ The Association was anticipated to teach sports designated as 'national sports' such as horse riding, archery, shooting, sword exercises and wrestling and to ensure that they were widely practiced. In this way, the young would be robust and ready for the defence of the country. The Turkish Power Association would also stage competitions at national level. In 1916, the Power Association was replaced by the Youth Association that included two separate organisations: the Association for the Healthy, which covered the ages between twelve and seventeen years old and the Association for the Robust that embraced the young of seventeen years old and over.¹⁶⁷ The Committee of Union and Progress frequently organised fetes and contests to boost the morale of the people and to show that it cared particularly about children, who were involved in competitions and shows, song contests and marches. The fetes also included football matches. In addition, many students participated in competitions devoted to the 'Physical Education Day' that were staged in 1918 by a committee headed by the Turkish Minister of Education.¹⁶⁸

In Turkey, as elsewhere, football was the most popular sport. It was introduced into the Ottoman Empire in 1890 by the British who were living in Smyrna and Constantinople. Later, in 1897, a mixed football team of British and Greek men from Smyrna played versus a team similarly consisting of British and Greek men from Constantinople. After this event, football spread quickly, particularly among the Greek population under the leadership of the British who were living in Constantinople.¹⁶⁹ The 'Kadiköy' Football Club was the first to be created in Constantinople by the British men at the beginning of the twentieth century. Many other football clubs were also established by British men. For instance, the staff that was working on a yacht, which belonged to the British Embassy in Constantinople, established a team, which they named 'Imogene' after the yacht. The 'Moda' football club was established in around

the same time, further increasing the number of football clubs in the area created by British men. These teams united in 1905 and formed the 'Istanbul Klupleri Ligi' (League of Istanbul Clubs) aspiring to the promotion of football and the establishment of the Istanbul Championship. In the course of time, a great number of young were involved in football, particularly when Turkish football clubs such as 'Galatasaray' (1906-1907) and 'Fenerbahce' (1907-1908) joined the League of Istanbul Clubs.¹⁷⁰

Nevertheless, in Turkey, until 1908, football was regarded as an expression of the Western European unwanted culture and was therefore discouraged. As a result, football developed first among the non-Muslim communities of Smyrna. Since Constantinople was under the surveillance of the Sultan, cities of the Ottoman Empire such as Thessaloniki and Smyrna enjoyed the luxury of being under considerably less pressure. Both cities had a harbour and enjoyed considerable commercial development. Tradesmen from Britain, France and Italy had settled in these cities while Greek and Armenian merchants were at the forefront of economic and commercial relations with Europe. This in turn facilitated the establishment of cultural and social ties between European tradesmen and local non-Muslim traders and businessmen. Thus the fact that football in Turkey was first played by Europeans settled in Smyrna and the local Greek population was seen as a natural outcome.¹⁷¹ Between the years 1908 and 1918 only, known as the 'Constitutional Period', football became popular activity. More importantly, football offered opportunities for the political elite of the 'Constitutional Period' to realise its goal of mobilising masses within the framework of patriotism and nationalism. Now football was considered as a means for the strengthening of patriotism and nationalism.¹⁷² By 1914, when the Great War broke, football attracted the interest of the Turkish population and created great excitement and passion. A great deal of football clubs emerged and thousands of people were involved in the sport. Political, social and religious barriers, however, had to be

overcome.¹⁷³ Apart from football, modern sport in Turkey received no particular government encouragement in the interwar years. After the proclamation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, President of the Republic, attempted to give an impulse to sport through state subsidies and the creation of modern sporting facilities. Regrettably, his effort did not produce immediate successful results.¹⁷⁴

Concerning sport in Albania in the under discussion period, in conditions of backwardness and poverty, competitions in Albania took place only in the late 1920s on the athletes' own initiative. During the feudal regime of King Zog during the 1920s, sport received no government interest. A small number of athletes were struggling to blaze their trail in modern sport but were faced with the lack of sports facilities, with lack of money and with government apathy and indifference. In consequence, athletic activities took place only occasionally. In 1933, Albanian athletes crossed the national border, for the first time, to be involved in the Balkan Games in Athens.¹⁷⁵ It was a meritorious endeavour and a good opportunity for the Albanian athletes to compete with athletes superior to them in a spirit of fair play and good fellowship. Prior to the foundation of the Balkan Games, the world of sport in Greece staged competitions between Greek, European and Balkan athletes in an effort to promote good fellowship and unity through sport. The athletic events held in Athens from 1925 until 1928, precursors of the Balkan Games, will be briefly discussed to provide the necessary background to the study of the Games and their impact on trans-Balkan relations.

2.3 Sport as a vehicle for understanding and friendship prior to the establishment of the Balkan Games: Competitions in Greece in the 1920s involving European and Balkan athletes

With Greece in a complex socio-political situation compounded by the influx of an enormous mass of refugees from Asia Minor in 1922, Greek and European athletes met, for the first time since the Great War, in Athens in April 1925. The Panathinaikon

Stadium was the venue between the French team 'Stade Francais' and athletes of the 'Panionios' Sports Association. The French athletes were to be involved in competitions in Egypt. When this became known in Greece, the 'Panionios' Sports Association invited the French team to Athens. The invitation was accepted when, for unknown reasons, the French involvement in the Egyptian games was cancelled.¹⁷⁶ An organising committee was formed under the presidency of Dimitrios Dallas, President of the 'Panionios' Sports Association, which began preparations for the meeting and the athletes' accommodation immediately. Diplomats from the competing states, members of the Greek Parliament, the Mayor of Athens and the French military delegation in Athens gave it official recognition.¹⁷⁷ The fact that Greek athletes attempted to compete with European athletes, who were superior to them, was seen as a bold, promising undertaking. The improvement of the Greek performance now was an attainable objective.

The echo of the Greco-French meeting had not died down when, on the occasion of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the creation of the 'Panionios' Athletic Association in Smyrna in 1890, Rumanian athletes from Brasov were invited to be involved in competitions in Athens. The preparations for the event began with enthusiasm and were completed with astonishing speed in September 1925. The organising committee nominated the Rumanian Ambassador as honorary president. The presidents of the Olympic Committee and the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association were designated members of the Games jury.¹⁷⁸ Some of the top Rumanian athletes were involved in the games, such as Joseph Stefan, winner in the 100m race and long jump, Edmonds Kazovitsi, victor in 400m race and Zorila Pop, winner in discus throwing. The Rumanians were applauded with enthusiasm. In the meantime, Dimitrios Dallas held a meeting with the Rumanian sports delegates and discussed with them matters touching on sport in general and the creation of the

Balkan Games in particular. There was agreement on most of the points discussed. It was also agreed that more specific matters would be discussed later.¹⁷⁹ Dallas described the Greek-Rumanian athletic meeting as a great, hopeful event:

...The invitation of the Rumanian athletes to Athens was a great initiative. The Greek spectators received them with warm manifestations and encouraged them in their endeavour. I had also the opportunity to meet and discuss with the Rumanian sports representatives the prospects of the Balkan Games' establishment. The Rumanians are zealous for the idea and seem to be eager to help for the realisation of the proposal. There are many hopes for positive developments in the future.¹⁸⁰

There were optimistic signs that the road to regional cooperation in sport and culture would open.

Athletic events with the involvement of athletes from Europe and the Balkan Peninsula were also held in 1927. The meeting between Greece and Britain was the starting point of sporting events, which promoted collaboration through sport and aspired to establish further cultural relations. The 'Acheilleia' competitions, one of the most important athletic events held in Greece in the 1920s, were the positive outcome of discussions between sports associations in Athens and the 'Achilles' Sports Association of London.¹⁸¹ The opening ceremony took place in April 1927. Ministers, the British Ambassador in Athens, the local authorities and British men who were living in Athens all attended the event. The British athletes were on the top throughout the competitions. Excellent performances were put up by the athletes from London, most of them Olympic medallists, who were applauded long and loud. Greek commentators described the games as 'a superb meeting'.¹⁸² Reasonably, such a sensational meeting monopolised the conversations among sports enthusiasts for a long time afterwards.¹⁸³ Moreover, Italian and Greek athletes met in Athens in May 1927. The meeting attracted the attention of the Greek politicians inasmuch as Greco-Italian relations had reached a point of high tension four years ago when Italy had occupied Corfu.¹⁸⁴ Politicians and diplomats were invited to Athens to add gravity to the event. The meeting was front-

page news in newspapers which reported that 'sport can bring nations together in conciliation and understanding.'¹⁸⁵ The fact that Greek athletes had successfully competed with top European athletes was expected to pave the way for the improvement of Greek performances in the short run and for successful competitions at international level in the long run.

The year 1927 also saw the first meeting between athletes from Athens and Sofia, who competed in Athens following a Bulgarian proposal.¹⁸⁶ To an extent, this was indicative of a change for the better in trans-Balkan relationships in the late 1920s and revealed a profound desire for regional cooperation and conciliation. To recollect past incidents, on 19 October 1925, in an exchange of shots, a Greek border sentry was killed and a Greek officer arriving at the scene to affect a cease-fire was also killed. Shooting along the border became general and the Greek troops were forced to evacuate their exposed post. What started out as a simple frontier incident escalated into a serious issue.¹⁸⁷ Three days after the incident, the Greek troops entered Bulgarian territory via the Struma Valley. Virtually demilitarized under the treaty of Neuilly, Bulgaria was in no position to resist a Greek advance and appealed to the League of Nations.¹⁸⁸ For this reason, the athletic event was received with great interest both in Greece and Bulgaria. As a mark of goodwill, the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association consented to the payment of expenses incurred by the participants in the meeting while the Bulgarian Sports Association promised to stage the next meeting in Sofia. At the opening ceremony, Petko Zlatev, the Bulgarian athletic representative, addressed the audience and stressed the necessity for a speedy growth of Balkan sport and the restoration of hope in the Balkan Peninsula. Zlatev also suggested that 'Greece and Bulgaria, neighbouring countries, which aspire to friendly and peaceful relations in the future, should establish sports relations, which open channels of communication and promote collaboration between the peoples.'¹⁸⁹

Despite adverse circumstances, the Greco-Bulgarian competitions demonstrated strength of will and set a stimulating example to further attempts to restore trust and good fellowship between antagonistic nations. On the occasion of the Greek-Bulgarian competitions, Dallas, President of the 'Panionios' Sports Association, seemed optimistic about cooperation in the area:

...After the Greek-Rumanian sports meeting, one more step towards trans-Balkan cooperation has been made. Petko Zlatev, of the Bulgarian Sports Association, is among these who keenly support the idea of the Balkan Games' foundation. The proposal gains ground. There will be good news soon.¹⁹⁰

Sport now provided the world of sport both in Greece and Bulgaria with aspirations and hopes for political and diplomatic cooperation in the area.

The Bulgarian Charge d' Affaires, diplomats, politicians, officers and thousands of spectators loudly applauded both the Greek and Bulgarian athletes. The official addresses at the opening and closing ceremonies emphasized that the Greco-Bulgarian meeting aspired to give an effective impulse to regional sport rather than seek to display the supremacy of one side over the other.¹⁹¹ The competitions of 1927 were the first peaceful contact between Greece and Bulgaria after the Great War. The two traditionally wary antagonists attempted to achieve an interlude of peace after what appeared to be an interminable period of hostility and misunderstanding. Without doubt, a devout desire for conciliation and regional unity determined the warm reception the Bulgarian athletes received when they entered the Panathinaikon Stadium. That sport could play an active part in bringing peoples of different language, culture and sociopolitical system together in an effort to set their differences aside and to share the same emotions and feelings was unfailingly emphasised by the government representatives of both sides.¹⁹² At the closing ceremony, Michael Rinopoulos, in his role as Secretary of the Olympic Committee, delivered the valedictory speech. He expressed his wish that hope would be restored in the Balkans

and added that 'athletes, sports enthusiasts and government representatives must join efforts to create the Balkan Games in order to utilise them as an instrument for cultural and diplomatic ends.'¹⁹³ In the response that followed, the Bulgarian Ambassador observed that 'the role of sport in the establishment and improvement of trans-national relations cannot be belittled and the young must be inspired by its ideals and values.'¹⁹⁴ In the final analysis, after what appeared to have been a never-ending period of regional antipathy and friction amidst political and social upheavals, athletes from Greece, Europe and the Balkan Peninsula competed in Athens in 1927 in a spirit of fair competition, friendship and unity. In the same year, Greek athletes were involved in football matches, tennis and swimming competitions in Greece and Europe and their good performances raised hopes for successful competitions at national and international level.¹⁹⁵

The Greco-German meeting in April 1928 was arranged by Greek and German Sports Associations and was staged under the patronage of the German Embassy, the Greek Ministry of Education and Foreign Ministry. Government and sports representatives, who addressed the audience, observed that 'sport can and must be utilised as an instrument for unity and peace regionally and internationally.'¹⁹⁶ In the same month, Pavlos Koudouriotes, President of the Hellenic Republic, opened the first meeting between Greece, Switzerland and Hungary in the presence of ambassadors of the competing states and the Mayor of Athens. The competitions included: high jump, 110m-hurdle race, 100m, 800m and 5,000 race, long jump, javelin throwing, 4x100 relay, marathon and wrestling. At the closing ceremony, memorial medals and an olive branch, symbol of peace and eternal glory, were conferred upon the winners.¹⁹⁷ In April 1930 and on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the Greek Independence, British, French and Greek athletes met at the Panathinaikon Stadium and competed in 100m, 800m, and 5,000m race, shot put, triple jump, javelin throwing, pole-jump,

400m-hurdle race and 4x100m relay. The British athletes, who put up excellent performance and won first place, aroused great enthusiasm in the crowd and received positive press comments.¹⁹⁸ Thus a five-year circle of sports meetings between Greek, Balkan and European athletes in Athens closed. The events were held in a spirit of fair play, goodwill and friendship and opened optimistic horizons for regional sport. Furthermore, the Delphic competitions, part of the Delphic festivals, were staged in Delphi, Greece in 1927 and 1930. The Delphic festivals, which will be now outlined, included ancient drama performances, art exhibitions and athletic events in an effort to foster and promote the spirit of regional and international amity, unity and cooperation through art and sport.

2.4 The 1927 and 1930 Delphic competitions- Prelude to the Balkan Games

Against the background of a complex political scene in Greece, Agelos Sikelianos, a distinguished poet, staged at his own expense cultural and athletic events at Delphi, the renowned sanctuary of ancient Greece, in 1927 and 1930. Sikelianos, a keen admirer of ancient Hellenic civilisation, attempted to send a message of hope, good fellowship and peace through art and sport, important instruments for the formation of sound character and the development of ethical behaviour. In the early 1920s, disappointed by the weakness of the human species and its propensity for violence and purposeless confrontation, Sikelianos conceived the so-called Delphic Idea of bringing the world nations together in an intellectual league with headquarters at Delphi pursuing high ideals like peace, liberty, education and cooperation. Personalities from the world of science, art and politics were invited in 1927 to a peace rally at Delphi, which, it was hoped, might establish contact between people of different socio-political and cultural background.¹⁹⁹ The ancient theatre and stadium of Delphi hosted drama performances and competitions respectively. The glory of the past was

revived. Sport again became a source of ethos, friendship and unity by which the young could be inspired and have their lives enriched by high ideals and pursuits. Delphi, the site of the worship of Apollo, symbol of peace and harmony in ancient Greece, it was hoped that might instill sound principles, which could encourage the people to promote everlasting values and ideals.²⁰⁰

Thus the 1927 Delphic competitions attempted to revive the ancient games. The students of the College of Gymnastics and select athletes from the Y.M.C.A. of Thessaloniki were all involved. Ancient contests such as the 'stadion' (straight race), the 'diaulos' (double 'stadion'), the 'dolichos' (long race), discus and javelin throwing, jump, wrestling and shot put were impressively performed. The athletes achieved to initiate the spectators into the ancient competitive spirit and to attest to the uniqueness of the event.²⁰¹ In addition to the competitions, the 'Pyrrychian' dance, a war dance of antiquity, made a great impression.²⁰² From every aspect, the spectacle was arresting and hit the headlines.²⁰³ Spectators and performers shared the same strong emotions while the athletes were encouraged by uninterrupted enthusiastic acclamations. Eva Palmer Sikelianou, Agelos Sikelianos' wife, who devoted much energy to the preparation of the cultural and athletic events, recognised that sport could and should play an active role in regional and international understanding. For this reason, she hoped and anticipated that the Delphic competitions might become an inexhaustible inspirational source of moral order, harmony and good fellowship.²⁰⁴ As noted above, in 1919, Ioannes Chryssafes, Director of the Department of Physical Education, had suggested that contests from antiquity such as race, discus and javelin throwing, shot put, free wrestling and the pentathlon should be included in the games under the name 'Classical Games' or 'Panathenala Games'. The 'Classical Games', it was hoped, might spread the Olympic Idea and might attract the attention and interest of keen admirers of the ancient Hellenic civilisation.²⁰⁵ Pierre de Coubertin was in favour of Chryssafes'

proposal. During his visit to Greece in 1927, Coubertin met Chryssafes and they discussed about the revival of the heritage of ancient Greece through the stage of various cultural events and among them the resurrection of the 'Panathenaia' Games. The Games would be known as the 'Panathenaia of the 9th Olympiad' and would be held once every fourth year. They would include athletic events held at the Panathinaikon Stadium; procession from the stadium to the foot of the Acropolis and concerts in the ancient theatre of Herod Atticus. The athletic events would last two or three days. Race, jump, javelin throwing and wrestling-all following the ancient regulations-would be included in the programme.²⁰⁶

The Delphic festival and competitions resumed in 1930 in the presence of Eleftherios Venizelos, ministers, diplomats and an enthusiastic audience.²⁰⁷ Again the ancient games were revived and the sports event realised, to some extent, what Coubertin and Chryssafes had proposed some years earlier concerning the 'Classical' or 'Panathenaia' Games. Athletes from the Thessaloniki Y.M.C.A, the students of the Military School and the Cavalry of the First Regiment enlivened the event with their dynamic involvement. A vivid description of the 1930 Delphic competitions was given by L.W. Riess, Director of the Y.M.C.A of Thessaloniki, who inspected the athletes' preparation and contributed, to a great extent, to the success of the event.²⁰⁸ The cultural and sports events of 1927 and 1930 aimed to be the starting point for the foundation of an International Educational and Cultural Institute at Delphi, unaffected by politics that could stimulate the international intelligentsia to the pursuit and promotion of moral values. The Delphic Institute would foster good fellowship among peoples and would support peace, justice and education, the three fundamental eternal values that were capable of leading the nations to progress and prosperity.²⁰⁹ In short, Agelos Sikelianos and Eva Palmer Sikelianou hoped that scholars and leaders of peace movements throughout the world might jointly achieve unity and cooperation at

international level. They believed that all these could work together to stimulate people to an astonishing achievement: the creation of a world without racial, religious and class prejudices. Eva, reviewing the 1927 and 1930 Delphic competitions, pointed out that 'the athletes competed in a spirit of fair play and unity; the athletic ideals were not undermined or exploited. The spirit of sound competitiveness that prevailed at the meeting was an oasis in a world of commercialism and materialism.' She also remarked that 'there were no handpicked athletes present, but a team of people with freshness of soul who struck a balance between the vigorous and harmonious body and the strength of will.'²¹⁰

The Delphic competitions of 1927 and 1930, forerunners of the Balkan Games,²¹¹ took place in a period during which Greece attempted to trace out a fresh political pathway in the region. Policies of conciliation and collaboration in various fields could realise ambitious national goals. Influenced by the ancient competitive spirit, the events at Delphi were held in the presence of personalities from Greece and abroad aspiring to restore and foster collaboration and friendship among world nations and to promote the ideals and values of the ancient games. The implementation of the sacred truce of the ancient times, the 'Ekecheiria', was one of the ambitious aspirations of the Delphic competitions. Despite, however, the fact that the Delphic festivals and athletic events attracted the attention and interest of politicians, artists and sports representatives, the vision that A. Sikelianos and his wife had nourished and on which they had spent a whole fortune, was only partly realised. The establishment of the International Delphic Cultural Centre, symbol of peace, friendship and culture took more than thirty years. In 1962 the Committee of the Deputy Ministers of the European Council unanimously agreed the establishment of the Delphic Centre under the patronage of the Council of Europe. The Centre was to be host to ancient drama performances, concerts and conferences on culture and education.²¹²

Conclusion.

Having examined modern sport in Greece we have discovered that sociopolitical problems and financial difficulties stood in the way of sport's growth. Nevertheless, the 1896 Olympic Games in Athens and the 1906 'Mid-Olympic' competitions had a positive impact on modern sport. Regrettably, the years that followed the Games were marked by the two Balkan Wars (1912-1913), the later Great War and the defeat of the Greek army in Asia Minor in 1922. In the 1920s, Greece tottered by factional strife and attempts at dictatorship, suffered huge deficits and resorted to refugee loans. This was not all. The exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey had an adverse consequence on the political, social and economic life of the country in the 1920s. On 17 August 1928, Eleftherios Venizelos, a charismatic politician and man of vision, won the Greek elections. After achieving political stability, he initiated efforts to reconstruct the country. In the wake of fresh domestic policies, sport and education received government attention. The government offered sport considerable moral and financial support and took measures for the promotion of physical education and sports activities throughout the country. Furthermore, sport in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Albania and Turkey developed with slow steps as a result of underdevelopment and poverty. The Balkan governments primarily concerned themselves with the settlement of national disputes and financial differences and endeavoured to overcome domestic social and economic problems. As a result, sport received little government interest.

From 1925 until 1929, the years in which the idea of the Balkan Games' creation matured, the Greek world of sport, in an effort to stimulate the athletes to improve their performances and to bring people of different language and cultural background together, staged athletic events in Athens with involvement of Balkan and

European athletes. These athletic events were seen as forerunners of the Balkan Games and those involved in the meetings sent messages of good fellowship, unity and collaboration through sport. In reality, there was hope for conciliation in the area. In addition, the cultural and sports events held at Delphi in 1927 and 1930 were prelude to the Games and aspired to send a message of peace throughout the world by the means of art and sport. The Greek poet Agelos Sikelianos and his wife, who organized and financed the events, visualized a harmonious world with no military confrontation and rivalry, a world where scholars, artists and sports representatives could play a key role in the establishment and promotion of cultural and economic cooperation both regionally and internationally. Regrettably, their vision clutched at straws. It should be noted, however, that regardless of the measure of the positive outcome of the Delphic festivals and competitions, the attempt was meritorious and such attempts should be sought and promoted. The relationship between sport and politics and the positive and negative role of sport in international relations now will be considered.

Footnotes

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- ¹ Vakalopoulos, Apostolos, Nea Helliniki Historia :1204-1985 (Modern Greek History :1204-1985), Thessaloniki: Vantias, 1999, pp. 197-202.
- ² Greece's independence was officially recognised by the Sublime Port of Sultan in May 1832. See Svoronos, Nikos, Episkopissi tes Neoellinikes Historias (Survey of Modern Greek History), op. cit., pp. 72-73.
- ³ Ibid., pp. 77-78.
- ⁴ Pavlines, Evangelos, Historia tes Gymnastikes (History of Gymnastics), Thessaloniki: Kyriakides Brothers, 1977, p. 395.
- ⁵ Ibid., pp. 395-396.
- ⁶ Ibid., pp. 394-395.
- ⁷ Ibid., pp. 396-403. Some years later, in 1860, the 'Special School of Non-Commissioned Officers' Trainers' was created.
- ⁸ "About the Introduction of Gymnastics in Elementary Schools", Resolution, 19 December 1862, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 19, pp. 38-39.
- ⁹ "About the Military Exercise of Pupils", Royal Decree, 18 February 1871, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 52, p. 125.
- ¹⁰ "About the Temporary School of Gymnasts", Royal Decree, 12 June 1884, Official Gazette, vol. 2, no 241, pp. 1249-1250. Ioannes Phokianos, director at the public gymnasium in Athens was the first to teach at the first School for physical education teachers.
- ¹¹ "About Physical Education Teachers", Law AXH, 24 December 1887, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 349, p. 1387.
- ¹² "About Military Drill in High Schools", Law AΨΚΓ, 27 March 1889, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 79, p. 279.
- ¹³ Pavlines, Evangelos, Historia tes Gymnastikes (History of Gymnastics), op. cit., p. 398.
- ¹⁴ "About Physical Exercise", Royal Decree, 22 September 1880, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 484, pp. 724-725.
- ¹⁵ "About Physical Exercise in the Greek Schools", Royal Decree, 27 January 1883, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 31, p. 189.
- ¹⁶ "About the Introduction of Military Drill into High Schools and the Greek Schools", Law 1, 11 April 1883, Official Gazette, Vol. 2, no 139, p. 751; "About the Introduction of Military Drill into the Teacher Training Schools", Royal Decree, 21 April 1883, Official Gazette, vol. 2, no 149, pp. 811-812.

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- ¹⁷ "About the Introduction of Military Drill into High Schools and the Greek Schools", Law 1, 11 April 1883, Official Gazette, vol. 2, no 139, pp. 751-752.
- ¹⁸ Penn, Alan, Targeting Schools. Drill, Militarism and Imperialism, London: Woburn Press, 1999, p. 28.
- ¹⁹ This study does not intend to provide a comparative study of physical education between Greece and Europe in the under consideration period. However, for a detailed consideration of the subject and the attempts to the promotion of an image of masculinity in systems of secondary school in Britain and the Empire in late nineteenth century. See J. A. Mangan and Hickey, Colm, "Athleticism In the Service of the Proletariat: Preparation for the English Elementary School and the Extension of Middle-Class Manliness", in J.A. Mangan (ed), Making European Masculinities. Sport, Europe, Gender, vol. 2, London: Frank Cass, 2000, pp. 112-139.
- ²⁰ Pavlines, Evangelos, Historia tes Gymnastikes (History of Gymnastics), op. cit., 402-405.
- ²¹ "About the Approval of the Statutes of the Pan-Hellenic Association of Athens", Decree, 28 June 1891, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 183, p. 674.
- ²² Panellinios Gymnastikos Syllogos 1891-1991. Ekato Chronia Panelliniou Gymnastikou Syllogou-Ekato Chronia Hellinikou Athletismou (Pan-Hellenic Gymnastic Association 1891-1991. A Hundred Years of Pan-Hellenic Gymnastic Association-A Hundred Years of Greek Athleticism), Athens: n.n., 1991, pp. 13-22.
- ²³ Ibid., pp. 23-25.
- ²⁴ "About the Central Gymnasium", Law AXH, 24 December 1887, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 349, pp. 1386-1387.
- ²⁵ "About the Regulations of the Central Gymnasium and the Special Gymnastic School", Royal Decree, 5 October 1893, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 198, pp. 866-867.
- ²⁶ "About the Organisation of the School of Gymnasts", Royal Decree, 10 August 1899, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 179, pp. 430-438; Carvelas, Ph., "Syntomos Episkopisses tou Didaskaleiou tes Gymnastikes kai e Leitourgia aftou kata to Scholikon Etos 1929-1930 (A Brief Review on the College of Gymnastics and its Running in the Years 1929-1930)", in Didaskaleion tes Gymnastikes (College of Gymnastics) (ed), Didaskaleion tes Gymnastikes: Epeteres 1929-1930 (College of Gymnastics: Year Book 1929-1930), Athens: n.n., 1930, pp. 10-12.
- ²⁷ Pavlines, Evangelos, Historia tes Gymnastikes (History of Gymnastics), op. cit., pp. 406-407.
- ²⁸ "About the College of Gymnastics", Law 1408, 30 April 1918, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 101, pp. 375-380.
- ²⁹ "About Amendment, Completion and Ratification of the Legislative Decrees of December 9th 1925 concerning the Organisation and Direction of Physical Education and the Organisation of Physical Education and Military Drill Stipulated by the

Legislative Decrees of September 20th 1926", Law 4371, 13 August 1929, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 298, pp. 325-334.

³⁰ "About Amendment, Completion and Ratification of the Physical Education Legislation in Force", Legislative Decree, 30 July 1932, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 246, pp. 280-286.

³¹ Carvelas, Ph., "Syntomos Episkopisses tou Didaskaleiou tes Gymnastikes kai e Leitourgia aftou kata to Scholikon Etos 1929-1930 (A Brief Review on the College of Gymnastics and its Running in the Years 1929-1930)", in Didaskaleion tes Gymnastikes (College of Gymnastics) (ed), Didaskaleion tes Gymnastikes: Epeteres 1929-1930 (College of Gymnastics: Year Book 1929-1930), op. cit., pp. 9-10.

³² Maniakes, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlismou: 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism: 1830-1930), Athens: n.n., 1962, p. 260. The author was sports historian and counselor of the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association in 1926 and 1928. He escorted the national athletic team to Paris and Amsterdam in 1924 and 1928 respectively.

³³ "About Amendment and Completion of the Law 238 concerning the Staff of the Ministry of Education", Law 1002, 1 November 1917, Official Gazette, vol.1, no 245, p. 988; Chryssafes, Ioannes, He Somatic Agoge kai e Stratiotiki Propedeusis tes Neotitos kai e Endegniomeni Organossis aftou (Physical Education and the Youth's Military Drill and their Efficient Organisation), Athens: n.n., 1925, p. 114.

³⁴ "About the Curricula of Physical Education and Military Drill in Secondary Schools", Decree, 21 November 1925, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 366, p. 2550.

³⁵ "About the Organisation of the Physical Education Department and the Expropriation of Public Land for the Construction of Gymnasiums", Legislative Decree, 21 September 1926, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 331, pp. 2595-2598.

³⁶ Chryssafes, Ioannes, "Kratos kai Athletismos (State and Sport)", Athletismos (Athleticism), no 4, July 1927, p. 5.

³⁷ Tsiantas, Constantinos, Ta Agonismata ton Kleftarmatolon (The Competitions of Armatolos and Klerfts), Ioannina: n.n., 1980, pp. 41-43.

³⁸ Pavlines, Evangelos, Historia tes Gymnastikes (History of Gymnastics), op. cit., pp. 394-399.

³⁹ "About the Constitution of a twelve-member Committee under the Name Committee of the Promotion of the National Industry", Royal Decree, 9 February 1837, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 5, pp. 6-9.

⁴⁰ Maniakes, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlismou: 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism: 1830-1930), op. cit., pp. 12-13.

⁴¹ "About the Establishment of the Olympia", Royal Decree, 28 August 1858, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 38, pp. 251-252.

⁴² "About the Constitution of a twelve-member Committee under the name Committee for the Promotion of National Industry", Royal Decree, 9 February 1837, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 5, pp. 6-9; "About the Establishment of the Olympia", Royal Decree, 28 August 1858, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 38, pp. 251-252.

⁴³ Maniakes, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlismou: 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism: 1830-1930), op. cit., pp. 14-15; Young, C. David, "Modern Greece and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games", in Coulson, William and Kyrieleis, Helmut (eds), Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games, Athens: Lucy Braggiotti Publications, 1992, pp. 175-176.

⁴⁴ Vakalopoulos, Apostolos, Nea Helliniki Historia: 1204-1985 (Modern Greek History: 1204-1985), op. cit., pp. 256-264.

⁴⁵ "Zappas' Will", 31 August 1865, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 42, pp. 274-277; Maniakes, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlismou: 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism: 1830-1930), op. cit., p. 25.

⁴⁶ "About the Definite Constitution of the Olympia Committee, the so-called Committee of the Legacy", Royal Decree, 31 August 1865, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 42, p. 274.

⁴⁷ Maniakes, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlismou: 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism: 1830-1930), op. cit., pp. 14-15.

⁴⁸ Royal Decrees, Circulars, Evagelo Zappas' Will and the Regulation of the Olympia for the Year 1870, Athens: National Printing Office, 1869, p. 8.

⁴⁹ Young, C. David, "Modern Greece and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games", in Coulson, William and Kyrieleis, Helmut (eds), Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games, op. cit., p. 177; Young, C. David, "The Origins of Olympics. A New Version", International Journal of the History of Sport, vol. 4, no 3, 1987, pp. 271-300.

⁵⁰ Maniakes, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlismou: 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism: 1830-1930), op. cit., pp. 21-23.

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 24-25.

⁵² Ibid., pp. 23-24.

⁵³ Young, C. David, "Modern Greece and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games", in Coulson, William and Kyrieleis, Helmut (eds), Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games, op. cit., p. 175.

⁵⁴ Muller, Norbert, "Coubertin's Olympism", in Muller, Norbert (ed), Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937: Olympism-Selected Writings, Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 2000, pp. 36-38.

⁵⁵ Young, C. David, "Modern Greece and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games", in Coulson, William and Kyrieleis, Helmut (eds), Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games, op. cit., p. 179.

- ⁵⁶ Muller, Norbert, "Coubertin's Olympism", in Muller, Norbert (ed), Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937: Olympism-Selected Writings, op. cit., p. 38.
- ⁵⁷ Vakalapoulos, Apostolos, Nea Helliniki Historia :1204-1985 (Modern Greek History :1204-1985), op. cit., p. 319.
- ⁵⁸ Young, C. David, "Modern Greece and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games", in Coulson, William and Kyrieleis, Helmut (eds), Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games, op. cit., p. 179; Young, C. David, The Modern Olympics: A Struggle for Revival, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, p. 252.
- ⁵⁹ Pierre de Coubertin, "Olympic Retrospectives", in Muller, Norbert (ed), Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937: Olympism-Selected Writings, op. cit., p. 732.
- ⁶⁰ Maniakes, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlismou: 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism: 1830-1930), op. cit., pp. 51-80.
- ⁶¹ Savides, P. S., B' Olympiakoi Agones: Lefkoma (Album of the Second Olympic Games), Athens: n.n., 1907, pp. 23-134; "Die Olympischen Spiele 1906", in Carl Diem Institute an der Deutschen Sporthochschule Koln (ed), The Olympic Idea: Discourses and Essays, trans. from the German version by John G. Dixon, Stuttgart: Verlag Karl Hofmann, 1970, pp. 35-37; Mandell, Richard, Sport: A Cultural History, New York: Columbia University Press, 1984, p. 206.
- ⁶² Muller, Norbert, "Coubertin's Olympism", in Muller, Norbert (ed), Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937: Olympism-Selected Writings, op. cit., p. 42.
- ⁶³ Maniakes, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlismou: 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism: 1830-1930), op. cit., p. 224.
- ⁶⁴ Chryssafes, Ioannes, He Somatiki Agoge kai e Stratiotiki Propedeussis tes Neotitos kai e Endegniomeni Organossis afton (Physical Education and the Youth's Military Drill and their Efficient Organisation), op. cit., pp. 377-421.
- ⁶⁵ "About the Financing of the Olympic Committee: 450,000 Drachmas are provided for Involvement in the 1924 Paris Olympic Games", Law 3321, 4 May 1925, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 110, p. 649.
- ⁶⁶ Encyclopaedia Papyrus Larousse Britannica, 61 vols, 1978-1993, vol. 49, Athens: Papyrus, 1992, p. 391. In 1899, a club under the name 'Fans of the Arts' was created in Thessaloniki and initially was not a sporting club. It promoted literature and music. In 1903 its members created a gym and founded the department of swimming and cycling. However, it was football that gained great popularity. Five years later, in 1908, the club of the 'Fans of the Arts' was renamed 'Ottoman Hellenic Club of Thessaloniki-Hercules' (Thessaloniki was under Ottoman occupation until 1912). Following the statutes of the new club, the football department was the first to be created and soon became the most popular.
- ⁶⁷ In 1906 the football team of the Pan-Hellenic Gymnastic Association was beaten by the team of the National Gymnastic Association, which finally gained the title of the

champion. In the same year, the football team of the National Gymnastic Association played versus the team of the British flagship, which lied in anchor at Piraeus and was beaten by the British. See Encyclopaedia Papyrus Larousse Britannica, op. cit., p. 391.

⁶⁸ Encyclopaedia Papyrus Larousse Britannica, op. cit., p. 391.

⁶⁹ The Hellenic Football Federation organised in 1926 the first football championship at national level in which football teams from the capital and the provinces were involved. In the meantime, the football team of the 'Mars Athletic Association' of Thessaloniki won the title of the first champion in the years 1927 and 1928 while the 'Athletic Union of Constantinople' won the first Football Cup in 1932. See Encyclopaedia Papyrus Larousse Britannica, op. cit., p. 391.

⁷⁰ Some of Venizelos' supporters formed minor parties under their own leadership. The Farmer-Labour party under the leadership of Alexander Papanastassiou was quite successful. At the opposite side, Andreas Michalakopoulos was the most consistent and articulate representative of the Venizelist Right, at the head of the Conservative Liberals (later Conservative Republicans). See Mavrogordatos, George Th., Stillborn Republic: Social Conditions and Party Strategies in Greece, 1922-1936, London: University of California Press, 1983, pp. 25-26.

⁷¹ Kitsiki, Dimitri, Sygnitiki Historia Hellados kai Tourkias ston 20o Alona (Comparative History between Greece and Turkey in 20th Century), Athens: Hestia, 1978, p. 221. The 'Revolution' of 1922 established itself as a military regime and rapidly became something more than a military triumph and the domination of *Venizelism* over its adversaries. The military, although split into several cliques, acknowledged the authority of the absent Eleftherios Venizelos and entrusted him with the negotiation of the peace treaty which ended the war with Turkey, and was signed at Lausanne in July 1923. See Mavrogordatos, George Th., Stillborn Republic: Social Conditions and Party Strategies in Greece, 1922-1936, op. cit., p. 29. However, in late 1922, the matter of the general election had been the bone of contention in the corps of both soldiers and politicians. The military supported the indefinite protraction of the military regime and the immediate dethronement of King George, the son of the former King Constantine. Under the pressure of events and the general demand on the part of politicians and the army that Parliamentary Democracy should be established, King George left Greece on 19 December 1923. See Historia tou Hellinikou Ethnous (History of the Greek Nation), 16 vols, Athens: Ekdotiki Athinon, 1974-2000, vol. 15, 1978, pp. 271-279.

⁷² Markezines, Spyros, Politiki Historia tes Neoteras Hellados (Political History of Modern Greece), 4 vols, Athens: Papyros, 1978, vol. 3, Synchronos Hellas 1924-1935 (Modern Greece 1924-1935), 1978, pp. 14-21. The author was Co-ordination Minister in 1953.

⁷³ Alexander Papanastassiou was a leading politician who influenced positively the political, social and intellectual life of Greece in the interwar years. See Apostolopoulou-Georgiadi, Toulia, "Alexandros P. Papanastassiou: O Politikos- O Epistimon- O Agonistis- O Anthropos"(Alexander P. Papanastassiou: The Politician- The Scholar- The Fighter- The Man), in Anastasiades, G., Kondogiorges, G., and Petrides, P. (eds), Alexandros Papanastassiou: Thesmoi, Ideologia kai Politiki ston Messopolemo (Alexander P. Papanastassiou: Institutions, Ideology and Politics in the Interwar Period), Athens: Polytypo, 1987, pp. 21-80.

⁷⁴ Historia tou Hellinikou Ethnous (History of the Greek Nation), op. cit., p. 281.

⁷⁵ Svoronos, Nikos, Episkopissi tes Neoellinikes Historias (Survey of Modern Greek History), Athens: Themelio, 1999, p. 128; Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), Second Edition, 2 vols, Athens: Ikaros, 1974, vol. 1, pp. 239-245. The Assembly decided to go into recess for forty days so that its members have the possibility of preparing the ground for the forthcoming referendum, and deputed to the government the authority to issue a series of legislative decrees. The question of Parliamentary Democracy was decided by referendum and the army supported it with amazing enthusiasm. See Vakalopoulos, Apostolos, Nea Helliniki Historia 1204-1985 (Modern Greek History 1204-1985), Thessaloniki: Vantias, 1999, pp. 371-374. The proclamation of the Republic was ratified by the plebiscite on 13 April 1924. *Venizelist* and *Antivenizelist* parties all united to campaign for it. Italy was the first European country to recognize the Greek Republic. France and Britain followed. The conclusion of a refugee loan was the first proof that the Great Powers trusted democratic Greece. See Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), op. cit., pp. 239-247.

⁷⁶ Vakalopoulos, Apostolos, Nea Helliniki Historia 1204-1985 (Modern Greek History 1204-1985), op. cit., p. 374.

⁷⁷ Historia tou Hellinikou Ethnous (History of the Greek Nation), op. cit., p. 283.

⁷⁸ Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), op. cit., pp. 256-257.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 284.

⁸⁰ Historia tou Hellinikou Ethnous (History of the Greek Nation), op. cit., p. 285; Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), op. cit., pp. 271-272.

⁸¹ Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), op. cit., pp. 276-300. Pagalos' foreign policy was a provocative deviation from the circumspect policy the former Greek governments had adopted. See Psomiades, Harry J., The Eastern Question. The Last Phase: A Study in Greek and Turkish Policy, Thessaloniki: n.n., 1968, pp. 35-37. In his 'grandiose' policies Pagalos anticipated the active intervention of the British government on his side especially in the event of an attack by Greece on Turkey (Britain and Turkey were in bad terms in consequence of the Mussolini question). Disappointed at Britain's passive attitude, he tried to extract a promise of support from Italy, but he failed. Reconciliation with Yugoslavia was among Pagalos' high aspirations and he did not hesitate to offer essential support to Yugoslavia including armed intervention, if necessary, against Bulgaria. See Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), op. cit., pp. 332-333. In his domestic policies Pagalos' first concern was to hasten the establishment of the new Constitution. Its draft had been in the making since 1924. Soon after he assumed the reins of government, a Committee was formed and the thirty constituent members, under the presidency of Alexander Papanastassiou, drew up a draft text of the new Constitution. The final text was signed and published in September 1925, without, however, being implemented. See Apostolopoulou-Georgiadi, Toulia, "Alexandros P. Papanastassiou: O Politikos- O

Epistimon- O Agonistis- O Anthropos"(Alexander P. Papanastassiou: The Politician- The Scholar- The Fighter- The Man), in Anastasiades, G., Kondogiorges, G., and Petrides, P.(eds), Alexandros Papanastassiou: Thesmoi. Ideologia kai Politiki ston Messopolemo (Alexander P. Papanastassiou: Institutions, Ideology and Politics in the Interwar Period), op. cit., p. 52.

⁸² Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), op. cit., p. 239.

⁸³ Kitsiki, Dimitri, Sygitiki Historia Hellados kai Tourkias ston 20o Aiona (Comparative History between Greece and Turkey in 20th Century), op. cit., p. 295.

⁸⁴ Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between two Wars 1923-1940), op. cit., p. 282.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 239.

⁸⁶ Kitsiki, Dimitri, Sygitiki Historia Hellados kai Tourkias ston 20o Aiona (Comparative History between Greece and Turkey in 20th Century), op. cit., pp. 239-240; Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), op. cit., pp. 334-335.

⁸⁷ Markezines, Spyros, Politiki Historia tes Neoteras Hellados (Political History of Modern Greece), op. cit., pp. 153-154. To all intents and purposes, its one hundred and twenty seven articles were not characterized by their originality since they were identical parts of the 1864 and 1911 Constitution. See Markezines, Spyros, Politiki Historia tes Neoteras Hellados (Political History of Modern Greece), op. cit., pp. 153-154.

⁸⁸ Historia tou Hellinikou Ethnous (History of the Greek Nation), op. cit., pp. 310-311.

⁸⁹ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 18 February 1929; Venizelou, Eleftheriou, Politikai Ypothikai (Political Precepts), vol. 1, op. cit., p. 378.

⁹⁰ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 18 February 1929; Venizelou, Eleftheriou, Politikai Ypothikai (Political Precepts), vol. 1, op. cit., p. 378.

⁹¹ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 8 March 1929; Venizelou, Eleftheriou, Politikai Ypothikai (Political Precepts), vol. 1, op. cit., p. 379.

⁹² Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 18 July 1929.

⁹³ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 11 October 1929.

⁹⁴ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 11 October 1929.

⁹⁵ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 1 November 1929.

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- ⁹⁶ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 1 November 1929.
- ⁹⁷ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 5 November 1929.
- ⁹⁸ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 14 November 1929.
- ⁹⁹ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 14 November 1929; Manitakes, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlitismou 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism 1830-1930), op. cit., pp. 632-633.
- ¹⁰⁰ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 14 November 1929.
- ¹⁰¹ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 12 November 1929. The 'Classical' or 'Panatheneia' Games are discussed in brief in this chapter as they were part of the 1927 and 1930 Delphic competitions.
- ¹⁰² Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 7 May 1930.
- ¹⁰³ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 20 May 1930.
- ¹⁰⁴ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 7, 9 August 1930.
- ¹⁰⁵ "About Modification, Completion and Confirmation of the Legislative Decree of 9th December 1925 concerning the Organisation and Direction of Physical Education as well as the Military Training and the Physical Education Law in Force as it was Modified", Law 4371, 16 August 1929, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 298, p. 2583.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 2584.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 2585.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 2586.
- ¹⁰⁹ "About Compulsory Expropriation of Land at Nea Ionia for the Construction of Gymnasium", Decree, 12 February 1929, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 55, p. 557; "About Compulsory Expropriation of Land at Moschato for the Construction of the YMCA School and Gymnasium", Decree, 26 September 1929, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 356, p. 3116; "About Compulsory Expropriation of Land in Athens for the Construction of Gymnasium", Decree, 3 April 1930, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 98, p. 999; "About Compulsory Expropriation of Land at Pyrgo-Elias for the Construction of Gymnasium", Decree, 29 April 1930, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 130, p. 1019; "About Compulsory Expropriation of Land in Athens for the Construction of Gymnasium", Decree, 22 May 1930, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 176, p. 1487; "About Compulsory Expropriation of Land at Aegina for the Construction of Gymnasium", Decree, 14 October 1930, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 351, p. 2848; "About Grant of Land at Neo Karlovassi for the Construction of Gymnasium", Decree, 24 November 1930, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 376, p. 2900; "About Compulsory Expropriation of Land at Galaxeidion Phokidos for the

Construction of Gymnasium", Decree, 21 January 1931, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 17, p. 585; "About Compulsory Expropriation of Land at Ioannina for the Extension of the under Construction Stadium", Decree, 27 November 1931, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 401, p. 2950; "About Compulsory Expropriation of Land at Lefkada for the Construction of Gymnasium", Decree, 1 February 1932, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 27, p. 165; "About Compulsory Expropriation of Land at Kythira for the Construction of Gymnasium", Decree, 17 May 1932, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 160, p. 1073.

¹¹⁰ "About the University Gymnasium of Thessaloniki", Decree, 28 December 1929, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 445, pp. 3717-3718.

¹¹¹ "About Modification and Completion of the 2476 Law concerning the Modification and Completion of the BXKA Law", Law 4154, 11 June 1929, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 197, p. 1798.

¹¹² "About the Examinations for further Sports Studies in Sweden", Decree, 29 November 1929, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 423, pp. 3592-3593.

¹¹³ "About the Publication of Drill Instruction Manuals", Decree, 10 March 1930, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 73, p. 540.

¹¹⁴ "About the Organization of the Gymnasium of the National Kapodistrian University of Athens", Decree, 5 May 1930, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 142, pp. 1183-1185.

¹¹⁵ "About the Increase in the Number of the Accepted Students in the College of Gymnastics", Ministerial Decision, 28 October 1930, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 130, p. 457.

¹¹⁶ Tsombares, Phedon, "Psiphisma tou B' Panathlitikou Synedriou kai e Tropopiissi tou Kodikos tes Physsikes Agoges (The Resolution of the Second Athletic Session and the Amendment of the Physical Education Code)", Macedonia, 20 January 1931, p. 3.

¹¹⁷ Chryssafes, Ioannes, "He Physsiki Agogi sten Hellada (Physical Education in Greece)", Macedonia, 16 June 1931, p. 1.

¹¹⁸ Chryssafes, Ioannes, "He Physsiki Agogi sten Hellada (Physical Education in Greece)", Macedonia, 17 June 1931, p. 1.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 1.

¹²⁰ Bouzakis, Siphis, Georgios A. Papandreou (1888-1968): O Politikos tes Paideias (George A. Papandreou (1888-1968): The Politician of Education), 2 vols, vol. 1, 1888-1932, Athens: Gutenberg, 1997, pp. 53-56.

¹²¹ To Nomothetiko Ergo tou Ypourgeiou Paideias kai Thriskeumaton: 1930-1932, Ypourgeia G. Papandreou (The Legislative Work of the Ministry of Education and Religion Affairs: 1930-1932, Minister G. Papandreou), 3 vols, vol. 2, Education, Athens: Dimitrakou, 1932, pp. 39-40.

¹²² "About the Increase in the Number of the Accepted Male and Female Students in the College of Gymnastics", Ministerial Decision, 10 October 1931, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 106, p. 458.

¹²³ "About Ratification of the Legislative Decree of the 30th July concerning the Modification, Completion and Codification of the Physical Education Law in Force", Law 5620, 31 August 1932, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 290, p. 1895.

¹²⁴ Ibid., pp. 1895-1896.

¹²⁵ Ibid., pp. 1896-1897.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 1899.

¹²⁷ "About Ratification of the Legislative Decree of the 30th July concerning the Modification, Completion and Codification of the Physical Education Law in Force", Law 5620, 31 August 1932, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 290, p. 1904; Lefas, Christos, Historia tes Ekpaideuseos (History of Education), Athens: OESB, 1942, pp. 497-498.

¹²⁸ "About the Way of Payment of the Expenses of School Gymnastics and Shooting in Schools and the National Physical Education", Decree, 11 January 1932, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 9, p. 210.

¹²⁹ "About Ratification of the Legislative Decree of the 30th July concerning the Modification, Completion and Codification of the Physical Education Law in Force", Law 5620, 31 August 1932, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 290, pp. 1907-1908.

¹³⁰ The Big Hellenic Encyclopaedia, vol. 2, Athens: Phoenix, n. d., p. 314.

¹³¹ Eleftheron Vima, 6 October 1930; Tachydromos tes Vorelou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 5 October 1930.

¹³² Eleftheron Vima, 24 October 1931.

¹³³ Encyclopaedia Papyrus Larousse Britannica, 61 vols, 1978-1993, vol. 4, Athens: Papyrus, 1978, p. 16.

¹³⁴ Girginov, Vassil, "Pre-Totalitarian, Totalitarian and Post-Totalitarian Masculinity: The Projection of the Male Image in Sports Policy in Bulgaria", in J.A. Mangan (ed), Making European Masculinities. Sport, Europe, Gender, op. cit., p. 169.

¹³⁵ Zaphires, Nikolaos, "O Athletismos en Bulgaria (Sport in Bulgaria)", Athletismos (Athleticism), no 14, 28 October 1927, p. 4. The author was athletic journalist and reported on Balkan sport. The journal Athletismos (Athleticism), a weekly sports survey published in the second half of the 1920s.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 5.

¹³⁷ Girginov, Vassil, "Pre-Totalitarian, Totalitarian and Post-Totalitarian Masculinity: The Projection of the Male Image in Sports Policy in Bulgaria", in J.A. Mangan (ed), Making European Masculinities. Sport, Europe, Gender, vol. 2, op. cit., p. 171.

¹³⁸ Zaphires, Nikolaos, "O Athlitismos en Bulgaria (Sport in Bulgaria)", Athletismos (Athleticism), no 14, 28 October 1927, pp. 4-5. As J.A. Mangan wrote, 'sport in one form or another, has been a constant and consistent means in the making of masculinity in preparation for confrontation in the world and with the world at both micro

and macro level.' See Mangan, J.A., "What Man has made of Man", in J.A. Mangan (ed), Making European Masculinities. Sport, Europe, Gender, vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 185-186.

¹³⁹ Riordan, James, 'The Worker Sports Movement', in Riordan, James and Kruger, Amd (eds), The International Politics of Sport in the Twentieth Century, London; E&FN Spon, 1999, pp. 105-110; Hoberman, John, Sport and Political Ideology, London: Heinemann, 1984, pp. 177-189. The Worker Sports Movement began to take shape initially in Germany in the 1890s with the establishment of the Worker Gymnastics Association. Elsewhere, the Worker Rambling Association was set up by Austrian workers in Vienna in 1895. In the same year the British Worker Cycling Club was organised around the socialist 'Clarion' newspaper. In 1898, the Socialist Wheelmen's Club came into being in the USA and French workers started to create clubs and the Socialist Sports Athletic Federation from 1907.

¹⁴⁰ Girginov, Vassil, "Pre-Totalitarian, Totalitarian and Post-Totalitarian Masculinity: The Projection of the Male Image in Sports Policy in Bulgaria", in J.A. Mangan (ed), Making European Masculinities. Sport, Europe, Gender, op. cit., p. 168.

¹⁴¹ Zaphires, Nikolaos, "O Athlitismos en Bulgaria (Sport in Bulgaria)", Athletismos (Athleticism), no 14, 28 October 1927, p. 5.

¹⁴² Ibid., pp. 4-5.

¹⁴³ The Bulgarian National Sports Federation became member of FIFA in 1924 and of UEFA in 1954. See Zaphires, Nikolaos, "O Athlitismos en Bulgaria (Sport in Bulgaria)", Athletismos (Athleticism), no 14, 28 October 1927, p. 5.

¹⁴⁴ In 1929, the Bulgarian national football team beat the mixed amateur football team of south Hungary and then played versus the mixed province teams of Hungary. It was beaten, however, by the national amateur football team of Hungary. See Eleftheron Vima, 3 September 1929.

¹⁴⁵ Eleftheron Vima, 20 November 1932.

¹⁴⁶ Eleftheron Vima, 10 December 1935.

¹⁴⁷ Girginov, Vassil, "Pre-Totalitarian, Totalitarian and Post-Totalitarian Masculinity: The Projection of the Male Image in Sports Policy in Bulgaria", in J.A. Mangan (ed), Making European Masculinities. Sport, Europe, Gender, vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 171-172.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 172.

¹⁴⁹ Liponski, Wojciech, "Sport in the Slavic World before Communism: Cultural Traditions and National Functions", in J.A. Mangan (ed), Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender, vol. 1, op. cit., p. 234.

¹⁵⁰ "He Anaptyxe tou Athletismou sten Bulgaria (The Development of Sport in Bulgaria)", in Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association (ed), Peninta Chronia Balkanikon Agonon (Fifty Years of Balkan Games), Athens: Kaktos, 1979, p. 18.

¹⁵¹ The first Olympic medal (copper) for Bulgaria was achieved by Boris Gueorguiev at the fifteen Olympic Games in Helsinki in 1952 in boxing. See "He Anaptyxe tou Athletismou sten Bulgaria (The Development of Sport in Bulgaria)", in Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association (ed), Peninta Chronia Balkanikon Agonon (Fifty Years of Balkan Games), op. cit., pp. 18-19.

¹⁵² Grupa, Autora, Sport u Srbiji, Beograd: n.n., 1973, pp. 5-6.

¹⁵³ Ilic, Stefan., Srpski Olimpijski Komitet -Jugoslovenski Olimpijski Komitet, Beograd: n.n., 1985, pp. 10-15.

¹⁵⁴ Riordan, James, 'The Worker Sports Movement', in Riordan, James and Kruger, Amd (eds), The International Politics of Sport In the Twentieth Century, op. cit., pp. 109-110.

¹⁵⁵ "Giougoslaviki Athletiki Omospondia (The Yugoslav Athletic Federation)", in Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association(ed), Peninta Chronia Balkanikon Agonon (Fifty Years of Balkan Games), op. cit., p. 21.

¹⁵⁶ Liponski, Wojciech, "Sport In the Slavic World before Communism: Cultural Traditions and National Functions", in J.A. Mangan (ed), Sport In Europe: Politics, Class, Gender, op. cit., p. 239.

¹⁵⁷ Totsikas, George, "To Pagosmio Kypello Podosferou" (The Football World Cup), in Macedonia-Special Issue, 27 May 2002, p. 7.

¹⁵⁸ Banciulescu, V., Jocurile Olimpice dela Lungul Veacurilor, Bucuresti: Editura Uniunii de Cultura Ficica si Sport, 1964, pp. 21-23.

¹⁵⁹ Postolache, N., Istoria Sportului In Romania-Date Cronologice, Bucuresti: Editura Profexim, 1995, pp. 5-7.

¹⁶⁰ Totsikas, George, "To Pagosmio Kypello Podosferou" (The Football World Cup), in Macedonia-Special Issue, 27 May 2002, p. 7.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 9-10.

¹⁶² Ibid., pp. 18-20.

¹⁶³ Roibu, Teodor, Organizarea Activitatilor Sportive pe Plan International, Bucuresti: Editura Universal Dalsi, 1994, pp. 30-35.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 35-38.

¹⁶⁵ Jecu, Emil, "History of the Rumanian Athletic Federation", in Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association(ed), Peninta Chronia Balkanikon Agonon (Fifty Years of Balkan Games), op. cit., p. 25. The author was Secretary of the Rumanian Athletic Federation.

¹⁶⁶ Okay, Cuneyd, "Sport and Nation Building: Gymnastic and Sport in the Ottoman State and the Committee of Union and Progress, 1908-18", in J.A. Mangan (ed), The International Journal of the History of Sport, vol. 20, no 1, March 2003, London: Frank Cass, 2003, pp. 152-153.

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- ¹⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 153-154.
- ¹⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 154-155.
- ¹⁶⁹ Okay, Cunejd, "The Introduction, Early Development and Historiography of Soccer in Turkey: 1890-1914", in J. A. Mangan (ed), Soccer and Society, vol. 3, no 3, London: Frank Cass, 2002, p. 4.
- ¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 5.
- ¹⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 3-7.
- ¹⁷² Ibid., p. 7.
- ¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 9.
- ¹⁷⁴ Cakmur, Yuksel, "They will Lead the Way to our Peoples", in Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association(ed), Peninta Chronia Balkanikon Agonon (Fifty Years of Balkan Games), op. cit., p. 13. The author was Minister of Youth and Sport in Turkey.
- ¹⁷⁵ "Syntome Historia Athletismou sten Laiki Sosialistiki Demokratia tes Alvantias" (Outline of the History of Sport in the Popular Socialistic Republic of Albania)", in Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association(ed), Peninta Chronia Balkanikon Agonon (Fifty Years of Balkan Games), op. cit., p. 16.
- ¹⁷⁶ Manitates, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlitismou: 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism: 1830-1930), op. cit., p. 471.
- ¹⁷⁷ Ibid, pp. 472-477.
- ¹⁷⁸ Ibid, pp. 488-491.
- ¹⁷⁹ Linardos, Petros, He Smyne tou Panioniou, Apo ten Mikrassiatiki Protoporia sten Athenaiki Anagenissi (The Panionios of Smyrna. From the Asia Minor Lead to the Athenian Rebirth), Athens: Arts' Friends, 1998, pp. 282-283.
- ¹⁸⁰ Quoted in Linardos, Petros, "Taxidi ste Genesse kai stes Rizes tou Thesmou ton Balkanikon Agonon 1924-1928 (A Trip to the Birth and Roots of the Institution of the Balkan Games)", Athlese kai Koinonia (Exercise & Society), no 23, 1999, p. 21.
- ¹⁸¹ Ephimeres ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 16 April 1927.
- ¹⁸² Manitates, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlitismou: 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism: 1830-1930), op. cit., pp. 520-522.
- ¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 522.
- ¹⁸⁴ See Chapter 1, pp. 40-41.
- ¹⁸⁵ Toumbalides, George, "To Athletikon Etos 1927 (The Athletic Year 1927)", Athletismos (Athleticism), Special Issue 1928, p. 5.

¹⁸⁶ Maniakes, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlismou: 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism: 1830-1930), op. cit., p. 539.

¹⁸⁷ The Bulgarian Charge d' Affaires, Ivan Dantcheff, in the morning of 21st of October 1925 met the Greek Foreign Minister, Admiral Alexander Hadjikyriakos. During this meeting, Hadjikyriakos pointed out that the Greek government felt that her national honour had been injured and was only amenable to payment of indemnities to the families of the slain men. Greece hoped that the Bulgarian government would consent to inflict an exemplary punishment on the military commanders responsible, express its regrets and pay an equitable indemnity of six million drachmas to the families of the Greek slain men. See Barros, James, The League of Nations and the Great Powers: The Greek-Bulgarian Incident, 1925, London: Oxford University Press, 1970, pp 1-6.

¹⁸⁸ The Council's first meeting was held on 26 October 1925. Aristide Briand, President of the League, dominated the discussions. Austen Chamberlain, the British Foreign Office Secretary, suggested that a Committee of Inquiry should be established by the Council League, inasmuch as hostilities had ended. Sir Horace Rumbold, an experienced diplomat, would be appointed as President. Assistance was to be given by the governments of Athens and Sofia. The Council accepted the proposal and agreed that Greek and Bulgarian representatives should be included. See Barros, James, The League of Nations and the Great Powers: The Greek-Bulgarian Incident, 1925, op. cit., pp. 14-23, 84-85.

¹⁸⁹ Maniakes, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlismou: 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism: 1830-1930), op. cit., p. 539.

¹⁹⁰ Quoted in Linardos, Petros, "Taxidi ste Genesse kai stes Rizes tou Thesmou ton Balkanikon Agonon 1924-1928 (A Trip to the Birth and Roots of the Institution of the Balkan Games)", Athlese kai Koinonia (Exercise & Society), no 23, 1999, p. 21.

¹⁹¹ Karabates, Dimitrios, "O Hellinoboulgarikos Diagonismos: Athina-Sofia (The Greco-Bulgarian Competitions: Athens-Sofia)", Athletismos (Athleticism), no 14, 28 October 1927, pp. 5-6; Kondomitros, Nikolaos, "He Hellinoboulgariki Synantissi: O Thriamvos tou Hellinikou Athlismou (The Greco-Bulgarian Meeting: The Triumph of the Greek Athleticism)", Athletismos (Athleticism), no 15, 4 November 1927, p. 3.

¹⁹² Kondomitros, Nikolaos, "He Hellinoboulgariki Synantissi: O Thriamvos tou Hellinikou Athlismou (The Greco-Bulgarian Meeting: The Triumph of the Greek Athleticism)", Athletismos (Athleticism), no 15, 4 November 1927, p. 4.

¹⁹³ Ibid., pp. 4- 5.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 4- 5.

¹⁹⁵ Toumbalides, George, "To Athletikon Etos 1927 (The Athletic Year 1927)", Athletismos (Athleticism), op. cit., pp. 5-6.

¹⁹⁶ "Evge es tous Hellinas Protathlitas (Compliments to the Greek Champions)", Athletismos (Athleticism), no 39, 10 April 1928, pp. 1-5.

¹⁹⁷ Eleftheron Vima, 23 April 1929; Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 24 April 1929.

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- ¹⁹⁸ Eleftheron Vima, 22 April 1930.
- ¹⁹⁹ Anthony, Anne, "Eva Sikelianos", Eos, nos 103-107, 1966, p. 190.
- ²⁰⁰ Karasmani, B., "Evdominta Chronia meta tes Delphikes Giortes (Seventy Years after the Delphic Feasts)", Kathimerini, Special Issue, 6 June 1997, pp. 15-17.
- ²⁰¹ Sikelianou, Eva, "The Delphic Movement in Greece", Eos, nos 98-102, 1966, p. 76; Pavlines, Evangelos, Historia tes Gymnastikes (History of Gymnastics), op. cit., p. 409.
- ²⁰² Palmer-Sikelianou, Eva, Ieros Panikos (Upward Panic), Athens: Exantas, 1992, p. 128.
- ²⁰³ Philadelphus, A.M., "Les Fetes de Delphes", Le Messager d' Athenes, 12 May 1927, p. 1.
- ²⁰⁴ Palmer-Sikelianou, Eva, Ieros Panikos (Upward Panic), op. cit., p. 159.
- ²⁰⁵ Chryssafes, Ioannes, "Oi Diethnes Classikoi Agones (The International Classical Games)", in Didaskaleion tes Gymnastikes (College of Gymnastics) (ed), Didaskaleion tes Gymnastikes; Epeteres 1929-1930 (College of Gymnastics: Year Book 1929-1930), op. cit., pp. 75-80.
- ²⁰⁶ Pierre de Coubertin, "The New Panathenean Games", in Muller, Norbert (ed), Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937; Olympism-Selected Writings, op. cit., pp. 279-280. Coubertin explained the role of the 'Panathenaia' Games: 'It is the duty of all to hail with goodwill the homage thus rendered to ancient athleticism and immortal Hellas. Besides, the Olympic unity will be hereby strengthened. It has been sought in vain to destroy or at least to weaken it. It answers a deep feeling based on powerful realities. That is why it has always emerged from the subtle attacks levelled against it. It will never be beaten'. See Pierre de Coubertin, "The New Panathenean Games", in Muller, Norbert (ed), Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937; Olympism-Selected Writings, op. cit., p. 280.
- ²⁰⁷ Le Messager d' Athenes, 21 February 1930; Acropolis, 26 February 1930; To Phos, 9 March 1930.
- ²⁰⁸ Riess, L.W., "Modern Delphic Games", Journal of Health and Physical Education, no 5, 1931, pp. 14-15. In his article under the title "Modern Delphic Games", Riess described the Games as follows: 'The athletes entered a stadium filled with an audience of thousands of eager spectators. First came the parade of the athletes dressed in the short, graceful chiton of hand-woven silk in rich colors; then followed the warriors in full war regalia consisting of breastplate, shield and plumed helmet, a short sword at the waist and a long spear. Under the armor they also wore the colorful chiton. All wore the sandals of the ancients. With the sun shining brightly upon the gleaming armor and the bronzed bodies, the sight was one to stir the imagination of the most phlegmatic.' 'Following the stirring entrance of the participants, the athletes' oath was given and the pentathlon competitors were called to take their places. Dropping the chiton, they stood stripped of all but a loincloth. They made a fine spectacle-those splendid Greek types. As there were no records kept in the olden days, none were kept on this occasion. The man who jumped the farthest, ran the faster or he had successfully contested a wrestling match, was proclaimed the winner. After the placing of the laurel wreath upon the brow of the winning athletes of the pentathlon, the

palestra games took place. The palestra games consisted of exhibitions of such events as jumping, running, discus and javelin throwing, ball games, archery contests, etc. Following these games, there was a race of the warriors in full armor.' The last account of the Games is given by L. W. Riess as follows: 'The programme concluded with the Macedonian war dance and the Pyrrhichian dance which brought down a thunder of applause. After the athletic events, an exhibition of horsemanship was staged-the riders riding bareback in the short robes. The whole spectacle was received with enthusiasm. The old stadium so silent for 1700 years re-echoed to the frantic applause of the multitude of pilgrims from all over the world. Mr. and Mrs. Sikelianos and Mr. Benakes, the president of the committee, were carried on the shields of the warriors amid the cheers of the crowd.'

²⁰⁹ Palmer-Sikelianou, Eva, Ieros Panikos (Upward Panic), op. cit., p. 158.

²¹⁰ Ibid., p. 159.

²¹¹ The 1930 Delphic competitions were held in May 1930 while the Balkan Games were inaugurated in October 1930.

²¹² Constantinos, Kitsikis, "Ydrysse Politistikou Kentrou stous Delphous apo to Symvoulío tes Evropes (The Foundation of the Cultural Centre at Delphi by the Council of Europe)", To Vima, 28 September 1962, p. 5.

CHAPTER 3

SPORT, POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

3.1 Relationship between sport and politics

Chapter three discusses the relationship between sport and politics and reviews the positive and negative role sport has played in international relations. Capable of bringing a great number of people together, sport increasingly plays an important role in trans-national relations and is recognised as a major global social and cultural institution.¹ Modern sport emerged from the efforts of individuals and private groups and in this sense it is a social innovation that has its roots in the emergence of a new form of sociability. Without doubt, sport is a social and political phenomenon.² The supporters of sport could hardly have imagined, in the last third of the nineteenth century, that sporting competitions would have a great impact on public opinion and would become an instrument of international policy. Sport, sports associations and sports representatives had not been recognised as potential actors in social and cultural life, economics and politics. Moreover, in Europe, for historical reasons relating to the constitution of the nation-state, it was not sport but gymnastics, shooting and military instruction that had priority. The gymnastic societies became the pedagogical and political instruments for the formation of national identity. During the 1920s, sport began to attract national and international interest, particularly in Europe.³ In reality, sport can be easily integrated into the government projects. There is therefore a 'sports

policy' inspired and put into action by ministers. A government may give instructions to its representatives, for example to the minister of sport, even to the presidents of the national sports federations posing thus the problem of independence of the national sports movement and governmental policy or that of the meddling of politics in sports affairs. Sports crisis may even exist apart from any other political crisis between states or nations. For example, the conflict, which was generated by rugby early in the 1930s, separated France and Britain and led to cold relations in matches played within the Five Nations Tournament.⁴

Sports victories by a national team improve and reinforce the image of the competing state and display the superiority of a political regime. During the 1930s a small portion of French public were fascinated by the authoritarian regimes due to the fact that the Italian and German athletes achieved to display that the regime of their country was capable of enhancing and reinforcing the national prestige and pride. Moreover, the freezing or banning of sports events between national teams has been the political usage of sport as a means for reprisal.⁵ Thus in September 1919, the French football team, following the injunction of British sports federations, refused to meet the Swiss team since it had played a match versus the Germans. The aim was to put pressure on public opinion and consequently to change the foreign policy of the government.⁶ In 1936, a football match between Holland and Germany was cancelled a few days before the marriage of Princess Juliana, successor to the Netherlands throne, to the German Prince Bernard de Lippe, for fear of anti-German demonstrations. The fact motivated the Reich to break off sports relations with Netherlands. In the same way, the French government banned its national football team from meeting Italy and Portugal in 1937, and Germany in 1938 for fear of provoking popular protest although the Germans stated that the French footballers would be protected against any nationalistic and aggressive action. Thus sport was utilised by the governments for

political ends.⁷ Nevertheless, there are cases where a crisis in sport did not result from political tension between the competing states. For example, in 1910 the Union of French Societies of Athletic Sports (USFSA) broke off relations with the International Football Association (FIFA) and banned its members from meeting all these teams, which were affiliated to FIFA.⁸

Before a further discussion of the relationship between sport and politics it is necessary to give some of the definitions of the terms 'sport' and 'politics', which are quite difficult to be precisely defined. Allison Lincoln defined the term 'sport' as 'the institutionalisation of skill and prowess'⁹ while Coakley Jay provided a more comprehensive definition of sport as an 'institutionalised competitive activity that involves vigorous physical exertion or the use of relatively complex physical skills by individuals whose participation is motivated by a combination of intrinsic and extrinsic factors.'¹⁰ The term 'politics' is also difficult to be defined. For Millar 'politics is concerned with the use of government to resolve conflict in the direction of change or in the prevention of change.'¹¹ As Leftwich claims, 'politics is at the heart of all collective social activity, formal and informal, public and private, in all human groups, institutions and societies, not just some of them.'¹² One of the common clichés associated with sport is that 'sport and politics should not mix.' The regularity with which athletes, administrators and politicians express the preference for a clear distinction between sport and politics is evident from the widespread feeling that those involved in sport should aspire to high ideals and not to the intrigues of the political field.¹³

Many people believe that the Olympic Games foster and promote the ideals of sport. However, in 1956 six national teams withdrew from the Melbourne Olympics, some in protest of the Russian invasion of Hungary and others because of opposition to the Anglo-French invasion of Suez. This action prompted Avery Brundage, former

IOC's President, to comment that 'these countries show that they are unaware of one of our most important principles, namely that sport is completely free of politics.'¹⁴ Nevertheless, there are many people involved in sport, who recognise that seeking to insulate sport from politics is a pious hope. McIntosh observed that 'if sport was to influence politics it would be hardly conceivable that the interaction should be in one direction only and that politics should have no bearing at all upon sport.'¹⁵ Sport and politics impinge on one another. Sport creates politically usable resources. Governments in modern times have habitually seen sport as an important agent of political socialization. Association with success in sport can be an important political resource. President John Kennedy began the practice of American presidents telephoning to congratulate the victorious athletic teams. Prime Minister Harold Wilson of Britain was probably the first prime minister to associate his government with sporting success. The holding of government receptions in honour of winner teams, attendance of sporting events and the bestowing of honours on athletes and women athletes were all evident during the 1964-1970 government. Even Margaret Thatcher could not resist being photographed with the British football team or taking part in the draw for the Scottish FA Cup.¹⁶ General Vilela of Argentina and President Pertini of Italy, among others, had all been keen to associate themselves with their country's success in Soccer's World Cup.¹⁷ The Prime Minister of Canada, Pierre Trudeau, in his electoral address in 1968, combined sport with culture in order to promote the cause of Canada's unity, an issue of great importance for Canada.¹⁸ Moreover, President Nixon promoted sport for personal political ends.¹⁹

In reality, when the government promotes sports activities that people enjoy and value, it improves its image in the eyes of the citizens. That's why many politicians present themselves as sports enthusiasts, they publicise sports events and associate themselves with high profile athletes and teams that have won at international

competitions. For instance, Ronald Reagan, the former President of the United States of America, used sport to his political advantage. Prior to the 1984 election, his campaign staff hinted at a connection between his first four years in the White House and the United States' success at the 1984 Olympic Games in Los Angeles. The claim was that he had restored American pride and America's position in the international political arena.²⁰ Reagan tried to enhance his reputation as well as the reputation of the American political system by implying a connection between his presidency and the gold medals won by the American athletes. He also invited national champions in the country's most popular sports to the White House for press conference and photographs thus attracting extensive national media coverage.²¹ Although there have always been politicians who have seen political benefit of associating themselves with the winners, there have also been those who have asserted faith in the capability of sport of 'bringing people together' and 'of creating unity which transcends differences in religion, class, race and nationality.' The Olympic movement draws on this ideal.²² On the other hand, George Orwell, who is credited with the expression 'war minus shooting', commented on the visit of the Moscow Dynamo Football Club to Britain in 1945 that 'sport is an unfailing cause of ill-will and...if such a visit as this has had any effect on Anglo-Soviet relations it could only be to make them slightly worse than before.'²³

A common sense of politics and a broad knowledge of history suggest that there exists a considerable politics of sport. What, however, needs explanation is the frequent assertion by sports representatives and politicians that sport is quite separate from politics and does not raise political issues. Sport and politics cannot be isolated. Three interrelated conceptions of politics need to be noted to expand this point. The first is the idea that politics is simply a term for the matters involving governments. In this view, a matter becomes political when the state is involved. The significant point is

that inevitably governments are involved in some ways with sport. Sport is subject to the laws of the state, although it sometimes seeks special treatment.²⁴ A second related view of politics is that it involves matters of power, control and influence over people's behaviour. A view of 'politics as power' is a reminder that sport has its own internal political struggles even when the governments are not directly involved. Globally, sport is controlled by international and national ruling bodies.²⁵ They are considered to have the same jurisdiction as the state in sports matters while the international bodies are non-governmental organizations. These bodies have power over sport. They determine the rules, the access to competitions, the structure and rewards of competitions, the acceptability of technology innovation and so on.²⁶ Sports federations and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) operate on the basis that they recognise only one ruling body in each state. The IOC took several years to decide how to handle matters concerning the Sports Associations of China, Northern and Southern Korea and those of the West and East Germany. Recognition of any sports body inevitably provided recognition of the regime within which that sports body operated.²⁷ In the case of South Africa, however, its social and economic system, which did not allow sport to be practiced in accordance with the IOC's rules, was the official reason for excluding it from the Olympic movement in 1970.²⁸

One characteristic example of government use of sport to promote its own political ideology was Hitler's use of the 1936 Olympics. Hitler was especially interested in using the Games to promote the Nazi ideology of 'Aryan supremacy'. Hitler's Olympics with their splendid new sports facilities were designed to glorify the Nazis and divert the attention of the world from the political situation in Germany. Only a year before, Hitler had passed a series of laws which took away many of the rights of the Jews in Germany. Thousands of Jews had already been beaten, tortured and killed in concentration camps. Anyone who criticized the Nazis was imprisoned or executed.²⁹

Hitler's government devoted considerable resources to the training of the German athletes, who won eighty nine medals, that is twenty three medals more than the athletes of the United States of America and over four times as many as any other state won during the Berlin Games. This is why the performance of Jesse Owens, an African American athlete, was so important in the 1936 Olympics. Owens's four gold medals and world records challenged Hitler's ideology of 'Nordic supremacy'.³⁰ Nazism represented an extreme right-wing form of government organized to advance an aggressive nationalism. Its particular vehemence resulted from Aryanism, a philosophy of racial purity. Among its manifestations there was a commitment to rid Germany of its Jewish presence and an attempt to propagandize the supremacy of the 'race'. The anti-Semitism that characterized Nazism affected sport. In 1933, when the boycott of Jewish business came into effect, the organizing bodies of sport excluded Jewish performers and officials. Two years later there was a complete segregation in German sport, something that contradicted the Olympic ideals. In the United States of America, an abortive boycott campaign targeting the proposed 1936 Olympics failed to gain support.³¹ Nevertheless, the Germans led the medal table in 1936 and demonstrated that they were administratively capable, generous, and peace loving people. In terms of propaganda, the Olympics were of value to the Nazis. Germany stepped up its rearmament programme.³²

After the Second World War, athletes from the Soviet Union were involved in international sports events, which had increased in frequency and provided an even more effective means for broadcasting the achievements, which Soviet Union and its satellites aimed to. It was no secret that the Soviet Union used its successes in the Olympic Games as a propaganda instrument for the communist sport ideology. States such as Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia had also showed similar intentions. In the Soviet bloc countries the participation in international events was exclusively a

matter of the government, which not only designed the involvement but also ensured that the teams were well prepared for the carrying out of the mission. National prestige had priority.³³ Moreover, the Soviet government used sport to emphasise the importance of teamwork, collectivism, comradeship, hard work and progress. These were the values connected with Soviet sport. On the other hand, in the states of Western Europe, sport was used to display the association between success and hard work and instead of emphasizing collectivism and common prosperity stress was laid on individualism and the achievement of excellency through competition. Regardless of political systems, sport is usually utilized to provide people with orientations and real-life examples that reaffirm and strengthen the dominant political ideology of the country.³⁴

The interweaving of sport and politics is evident at international, national and regional level. History shows that governments have used international sports events, especially the Olympic Games, to pursue their own interests rather than international understanding, friendship and peace. Statements made by politicians substantiated the pursuit of national interests rather than unity and peace between the peoples. In 1964, Bobby Kennedy, Attorney General of the United States of America, said that 'it is in our national interest that we regain our Olympic superiority-that we once again give the world visible proof of our inner strength and vitality.' In 1974 Gerald Ford, President of the United States of America, wondered:

...Do we realize how important it is to compete successfully with other nations? Not just the Russians, but many nations are growing and challenging. Being a leader, the United States have an obligation to set high standards. A sports triumph can be as uplifting to a nation's spirit as a battlefield victory.³⁵

These statements illustrate how sport was clearly connected with national and international politics especially in the after the World War Second 'cold war era'. This connection between sport and politics was so widely recognized that Peter Ueberroth,

President of the Los Angeles Olympic Organising Committee, concluded in 1984 that 'we now have to face the reality that the Olympics constitute not only an athletic event but a political event.'³⁶ The states have seldom put understanding and the good of the world community ahead of their own interests. The demonstration of superiority through sport has been given priority. Powerful industrial countries are not the only ones that have used sport to promote national interests. For instance, many nations lacking international political and economic recognition have used participation in the Olympics in their quest for international recognition. They have used international athletic meetings as a stage to show that their athletes and teams can be present and sometimes even defeat athletes from states economically superior to them. When the West Indian cricket team defeated Britain it was seen as an event that contributed greatly to West Indian prestige in the international arena.³⁷ Moreover, some emerging industrial states have also recognized that hosting the Olympics is a good opportunity to make worldwide known their readiness and ability to participate in international sports and trade activities. Tokyo spent millions of dollars to host the 1964 Summer Games and Seoul spent much more money to host the 1988 Summer Games. The Olympics have been widely used as an international stage on which the states can gain international recognition and display power and resources.³⁸

The governments have also been involved in a number of sports issues that have arisen at international level. When in 1979 the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, the United States of America and other Western states responded by suggesting boycott of the forthcoming Olympic Games which were scheduled to be held in Moscow in 1980. The British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, announced her government's support of the American initiative. Strong opposition came from politicians and governing bodies of sport, which argued that although sport and politics could not be separated, however, sport should not be utilized as a political weapon. In

1988, cancellation of the winter tour of India by the British cricket team was the consequence of the Indian government's dissatisfaction with the policy of the Test and County Cricket Board and with that of the British government towards apartheid in South Africa and towards those cricket players who insisted on playing there. This issue threatened to disrupt the 1990 Commonwealth Games in New Zealand.³⁹

In a foreign policy context, sport is occasionally used in specific situations for a certain purpose. Thus both China and Cuba initiated sports meetings as a means for revealing the desire for relations with the West. On the other hand, as has been aforementioned, many states have shown disagreement with the apartheid policy by discouraging sporting ties with South Africa. Several countries showed their disapproval of the invasion of Afghanistan by pressuring their Olympic Committees not to send teams to the Moscow Olympics. East Germany used sport and international matches to secure recognition from the peoples, if not directly from the governments. To make friends with the Third World, the Soviet Union and other communist states sent coaches and other sport assistance as part of their foreign policy.⁴⁰ Government's involvement in sport reflects in part its ideological view of the role of the state in society. In the developed West, sport is considered to have a role in character building and to instill the virtues of self-control, discipline and fair play. It is increasingly, recognized as a means of promoting good health. In the former Soviet Union and the communist states sport was seen as having many roles. It was seen as a vital means of maintaining people's health and preparing them for military service. More significantly, it was seen as a tool for foreign policy.⁴¹

Furthermore, the place sport has got in people's consciousness demonstrates that a sense of national dignity, in which the governments have an interest, is enhanced by national sporting success such as of Italy in the 1982 World Cup. One of

the roles of sport in countries of the Third World is that national sports teams can promote a sense of national identity in these states, which are troubled by tribal or religious divisions. The conflict with the Tamils in Sri Lanka stopped (at least for a brief period) in 1984 when the Sri Lanka cricket team played versus Britain and put up excellent performances. For a small state, a prominent sports team is a way of reminding the world of its existence. For many governments, sport is too important to be ignored. Understandably, they want to keep an eye on every sports group, which represents the country at international level. They use their flag and other national symbols. The national anthem is played at international meetings and anthems and flags are prominent at the Olympic ceremonies.⁴²

In sum, sport is a key instrument in the domestic and foreign policy of the governments and also a factor in the promotion of the state's image regionally and internationally. The matter of the utilization of sport as a means for the improvement of international relations began detaining the international scientific community in the early 1980s. In 1981, a research under the title 'Approaches to the Study of Sport in International Relations' was published by H. Kyrolainen and T. Varis who belonged to the 'Research Institute for Peace' in Finland. The research paved the way for a close investigation in the relationship between culture, sport and foreign policy.⁴³ The relationship between sport, domestic and foreign policy concerned seriously sports historians, sociologists, anthropologists and many other categories of scholars. According to T. Shaw and S. Shaw sport is part of politics. They substantiated their position arguing that both in politics and in sport all these involved aspire to improve their social prestige and for this reason they endeavour to secure resources.⁴⁴ The significant role sport can play in international relations motivated all these involved in it to participate in international congresses and seminars and to publish papers in scientific journals.⁴⁵

On the other hand, it has been many times argued that sport does not contribute to the promotion and consolidation of peace and that it reinforces nationalism.⁴⁶ In fact, according to Mike Cronin and David Mayall, sport has been used to symbolise the capability and success of a nation. The concept of nationalism is central to the construction of identity and one, which performs a vital function in sport. The historical and political consideration of nationalism and national identity has promoted studies that examine identities not defined by the nation state.⁴⁷ Sport has been used for different purposes and since the emergence of modern sport in the nineteenth century it has been used by those wishing to promote the idea of different ethnicities. The most common embodiment of this has been amongst immigrants who seek either to preserve the cultural dissimilarities of their ethnic group or they struggle to assimilate themselves into the host community.⁴⁸ The formation of identity through sport may take place at many different levels. Sport can be used by athletes to create and sustain their own identity. Sport can be used to replace one identity with another as it functions as a vehicle for assimilation; it can be used to keep alive antagonistic notions of identity and it may be used to create an international identity in place of the national.⁴⁹

According to Mike Cronin, one of the most important notions of identity in sport is that of the creation of nations-states competing against each other. This allows national prestige to be displayed in the sporting field. The victory of one nation over another nation produces exhilaration, national pride and unites the nation behind the team and the accompanying symbolism of the national strip, the flag and the anthem.⁵⁰ The idea that sport transcends and integrates local, regional and national communities is an argument that has appeared in many forms. The notion that sport has some intrinsic property that rises above and displaces whatever major or minor social divisions there may have often been perceived as one of the major reasons for staging

international sports events such as the Olympic Games, the World Rugby and Football and Athletic Championships. In the late 1970s, Sylvanus Williams, Nigeria's Minister of Sport, stated that sporting achievements not only unite the people but are also a measure of nation's greatness. The victorious athletes are not only seen to legitimate the nation within the international arena but also incarnated a positive image of the nation.⁵¹ The role of sport in the establishment of regional and international relations will now be the case.

3.2 The positive role of sport in trans-national relations

The majority of people believe that the establishment of unity and preservation of peace should be the main goals of sport. This idea that sport should bring nations of the world together had been emphasized ever since Baron Pierre de Coubertin founded the modern Olympics. The potential impact of sport on international relations has never been summarized more clearly than in the statement by Alan Reich, a former official of the State Department of the United States of America in 1974. Reich pointed out that 'sport opens doors to societies and paves the way for contact-cultural, economic and political-and that sport provides an example of friendly competition and two-way interchange which, hopefully, characterizes and leads to other types of friendly relations between nations.'⁵² Nevertheless, many examples of the mesh between politics and sport suggest that when sport and politics intertwine it is sport that has its values undermined and exploited. However, there are some examples of a mutually beneficial relationship where sport has been a positive force for improving international relations. Sports meetings that are politically well intentioned can help communication and cooperation between states. For example, in October 1927 the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association organized competitions between athletic teams from Sofia, Bulgaria and Athens, Greece, two traditionally antagonistic states. This sporting

meeting between the two states was the first peaceful contact after the Great War and the 1925 frontier incident between Greece and Bulgaria as it has been discussed in chapter one of the thesis. The meeting was officially proposed by Petko Zlatev, the representative of the Bulgarian Sports Association. Zlatev remarked:

...Greece and Bulgaria, neighbouring countries, which aspire to create friendly relations in the future, should make every effort to establish sporting relations, which are capable of creating and promoting good fellowship between peoples.⁵³

Clearly sport as a source of good will and cooperation was recognised and promoted by the Greek and Bulgarian sports associations. Sport, it was hoped that might play a positive role in the improvement of trans-national relations.

The common reality, of course, is that when an athletic meeting is staged, political friendship seldom receives priority. The demonstration of national superiority through sport mostly characterises the competing parties.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, in the 1930s the Balkan Games, on which this study is focused, did provide a rare example of how an athletic event was used to bring together antagonistic nations. The Games increasingly became a source of good will and did help to minimise tension between the participating states. The athletes were encouraged to perform with an emphasis on individual participation. Spectators, sports representatives and journalists focused on the achievements of the athletes as personal and not national successes and on the symbols emphasising conciliation, friendship and collaboration. Time and again, statesmen such as Eleftherios Venizelos, the Greek Premier from 1928 to 1932, as well as Bulgarian, Rumanian, Yugoslav and Turkish politicians and diplomats declared publicly, that the greatest service the Games rendered to peace in the region was that they brought athletes, diplomats, and government representatives together to seek and advance channels of communication, conciliation and cooperation.⁵⁵ It should be noted that the Balkan sports representatives, who represented their country at the Games,

acted as diplomatic representatives, formal and informal, in the effort to improve relations between nations. The mere fact that sport was capable of bringing together the Balkan peoples in an atmosphere of amicability was an achievement in itself. In addition, the Games increasingly became a means of cultural exchanges and a stimulus to the improvement of regional performances by means of which the Balkan nations raised their self-esteem.

In the second half of the twentieth century, the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States of America and China in the early 1970s, which was initially attempted through table tennis matches, a tactic that was later described as 'Ping-Pong diplomacy', is a classic case in point. The matches were designed to emphasize involvement rather than competitive success of one nation over the other. They were organized to bring the countries together and not to establish superiority or to reaffirm national prestige in the eyes of the international community or the people of the competing states. For this reason, the symbols associated with the event and the media coverage focused on unity and the skills of the athletes while the victories were attributed to the athletes themselves rather than to the states in which they were born or trained. The result was that the table tennis matches provided opportunities for contact and understanding between the two countries.⁵⁶ In addition, the later 'Goodwill Games', for their part, were founded after the boycotts of the 1980 and 1984 Olympic Games in an effort to bring elite athletes from all over the world together in a forum that emphasised unity through sport. The Games were designed to reduce the increasing hostility between the sports communities of the United States of America and the Soviet Union. They were initiated in Moscow in 1986 and then in Seattle in 1990 and were accompanied by art exhibitions, concerts and conferences in a meritorious attempt in a conciliatory climate, partly, to allow people from different countries to meet and discuss world issues and make proposals for effective solutions. Although there is

no information about the impact of these events on the political domain, they have been promoted and covered in a way that downplayed political differences and nationalism.⁵⁷

When Seoul was selected to host the 1988 Olympics the political obstacles were enormous. The Korean Peninsula had been divided since 1945, the epitome of the Cold War, with Southern Korea unrecognized by the Soviet bloc and firmly tied to the West and Northern Korea correspondingly close to the Soviet bloc and estranged from the West. The absence of relations between Southern Korea and the Soviet bloc gave rise to the fear that the Soviet Union and its allies might boycott the Games. The President of the IOC, Juan Antonio Samaranch handled the difficult circumstances with outstanding diplomatic skill. He showed the Soviet Union that the IOC had done all it could do to satisfy its ally's demands and so allowed the Soviet Union to participate in the Games without loss of face. This was what the Soviet leaders possibly wished to do in any case, for by boycotting the Los Angeles Games of 1984 it had already negatively affected some of its Eastern Europe friendships. To boycott again might have a negative impact on them and on some Third World allies. The Olympics were an important means for the improvement of relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.⁵⁸ A more recent example where sport has been a source of goodwill and conciliation was the holding of a marathon race in Berlin on New Year's Day in 1990. The race followed a route that weaved its way through both East and West Berlin thus symbolising the unification of East and West.⁵⁹ Each of these examples shows that sport can be used to promote good fellowship and peace between peoples, but this can be achieved after careful planning. Furthermore, up to 1991, the United States Information Agency funded the 'Sports America Programme' according to which coaches, trainers, administrative experts and sports equipment were sent to nations that lacked resources to develop sports programmes on their own. In addition, coaches

from developing countries were invited to the United States of America so that they may work with American coaches and learn from them. The participants in the 'Sports America Programme' worked with other volunteer groups in the United States as well as with national and international sports organizations to assist the developing countries to establish sports programmes for elite athletes, the disabled and women.⁶⁰

Sport has also been used to bring about political transformation in a state. Such a goal, of course, cannot be achieved very often. Nevertheless, the long-term boycott of sports competitions involving South African teams did make an important contribution to the overall effort to break down the apartheid policy. Racial apartheid in South Africa was established in 1948 and the efforts to isolate South African teams date back to the late 1950s. These efforts were increasingly organized to the point that there was an effective global boycott in the 1960s. The boycott was associated with bitter conflicts in several states.⁶¹ However, the boycott increasingly took a symbolic form throughout the world and reminded people of the racial oppression in South Africa. It also put pressure on white South Africans to consider their government's policy of racial discrimination. In the early 1990s racial barriers started to be removed and the African National Congress, under the leadership of Nelson Mandela, made sport an integral part of everyday life through which he could promote the suppression of racial discrimination. Thus changes in sport became a symbol of the need for changes in other parts of South African social life.⁶² The use of sport as an instrument of reaction, protest and opposition at regional and international level is the next matter under discussion.

3.3 The negative role of sport in international relations

From their initiation the modern Olympic Games were marked by political conflicts. In 1896, the Germans showed hostility to them since they were seen as a riposte by the French for their defeat in the Franco-German war.⁶³ As early as 1908 the national team of Finland, then part of Russia, refused to march in the opening ceremony of the Games under the Russian flag and chose to march as a separate group without a flag. The 1936 Olympics were exploited by Hitler and the Nazis to promote the virtues of National Socialism and the supposed superiority of the Aryan race.⁶⁴ After the 1936 Olympics, no summer Olympic Games escaped political incident. The defeated states such as Germany, Italy and Japan were excluded from the London Games in 1948.⁶⁵ Holland, Egypt, Iraq and Spain boycotted the 1956 Games in protest of the British and French invasion of Suez. The Chinese stayed away because the Taiwanese had been allowed to compete. Taiwan then claimed to be the true Republic of China. But the Hungarians surprised everybody by deciding to go to Melbourne in 1956 in spite of the fact that Soviet troops had invaded the country earlier that year.⁶⁶

In 1964, South Africa was suspended and later was expelled from the Olympic movement (in 1970). Zimbabwe, former Rhodesia, a country, which adopted a similar system to that of apartheid, was barred in 1972 having made a Unilateral Declaration of Independence from the Commonwealth.⁶⁷ New Zealand maintained sports links with South Africa in the face of the world opposition. In the 1976 Montreal Olympics more than twenty African nations boycotted the Games in protest at the participation of New Zealand, whose government had allowed its rugby team to play versus racially selected South-African players. In 1980, following the Russian invasion of Afghanistan in late 1979 the British government put considerable pressure on British athletes not to participate in the Moscow Olympics.⁶⁸ Boycotts have since proliferated. Taiwan also withdrew after it was refused permission to compete as 'China'.⁶⁹ The most tragic example of the Olympic Games being used for political demonstration occurred in 1972

in Munich when eight Palestinian terrorists occupied the Israeli team's quarters and demanded the release of two hundred Palestinian prisoners in Israel. Negotiations proved fruitless and gunfire opened up. Ten athletes were killed. A day's mourning followed before the competitions resume. There was naturally considerable thought that the remaining events should be cancelled but the outgoing president, Avery Brundage, decided that the Games should go on. Since then, matters of security have become a major preoccupation of the Games' organizing committee.⁷⁰ President Carter's proposal for boycott of the Moscow Games was resulted from the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The President seemed to have decided that a boycott would be a way of showing disapproval of the Soviet action. He and his advisers, however, were surprised when their suggestions, made only a few months prior to the Olympics, that they should be moved elsewhere or that alternative Games should be held, got short shift.⁷¹

There were, of course, arguments on both sides. On the one hand, many sports representatives resented American interference in sport and thought it wrong to deprive athletes from the supreme athletic event for which they had been training for long. On the other hand, the government of the United States thought it improper to back sporting collaboration with a country, which had invaded of Afghanistan and believed that the athletes should not shrink from bearing their part of the burden.⁷² The British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher exhorted British athletes not to go but the British Olympic Association went ahead.⁷³ Speciously pleading anxiety over their athletes' security, the Soviet Union and its allies (except Rumania) did not participate in the 1984 Los Angeles Games.⁷⁴ For political reasons, China sent a limited delegation of two hundred athletes and Yugoslavia did not send its national teams to the same Games.⁷⁵ In 1988, Cuba stayed away from the Seoul Games after the Southern Korean government refused to share events with Northern Korea. Almost every

Olympics have been associated with some form of political issue, which has prompted boycotts.⁷⁶

In addition to the Olympics, other major international sporting events have been also utilised for political confrontation. To mention merely two examples from soccer, Germany was invited to Britain in 1935 to play a match at Tottenham Hotspur's White Hart Lane ground. Arrangements were finalized by late August, but the British government did not become aware of the event until September, when the Home Office received a request from a German steamship company for permission to land supporters at Southampton. Media coverage focused on the negative reactions of various anti-fascist, Jewish and left wing groups towards the idea of entertaining a team seen as representing a regime guilty of serious excesses against the Church, Jews and the labour movement.⁷⁷ The invitation resulted in protests from trade unions, which demanded that the match should be cancelled because of the offence that might be given to the large local Jewish population. The forthcoming match raised policy issues for the British government. Fears of unrest, even riots, consequent upon the presence of some 10,000 German spectators deplored the Home Office.⁷⁸ Finally, the fact that the match had already been arranged and publicized urged the British government to assume that it would go ahead.⁷⁹ In a subsequent international game in 1938, this time in Germany, the British team was instructed to give the Nazi salute as the German national anthem was played before the match.⁸⁰ In 1966 during the World Cup finals held in Britain, NATO first opposed the presence of the Northern Korea national team in a NATO country and then opposed the flying of the Northern Korea flag and the playing of its national anthem.⁸¹ Soccer provides many examples of being used as forum for government propaganda or as an arena for international politics. There is the example of the defeat of Honduras by El Salvador in a World Cup

qualifying match in 1969, being the spark, which turned the growing hostility between the two countries into open war.⁸²

Sport certainly is not an invariably source of international goodwill. Quite the reverse! In the twentieth century, not infrequently, sport has pointed up political confrontation. To take merely one example, a serious political problem arose in 1982 when Hu Na, a Chinese tennis player from the People's Republic of China applied for political asylum in the United States. Following the 'Ping Pong diplomacy', sport had promoted conciliation between the two countries. Nevertheless, during the period the Americans were considering the asylum application of Hu Na, China cancelled bilateral cultural exchanges, which were due to take place in 1983 and withdrew from involvement in international meetings that were scheduled to be held in the United States.⁸³ Racial or ethnic prejudice too has been a source of international confrontation. The offensive behaviour of Austrian supporters during the football match between Algeria and Austria, which resulted in the disqualification of the Algerian team from the 1982 World Cup Championship, had a deleterious impact on Austrian-Algerian relations. After a formal protest by the Algerian Ambassador, some of the Austrian fans were compelled to apologize to the Algerian Embassy. An embarrassing situation was minimised.⁸⁴ In a recent case, catcalls by Greeks against the players of Southern Serbia, who had won the Pan-European Basketball Championship held in Athens in 1995, raised tension between the competing states. To retrieve the situation, Carol Papoulias, the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, handled the problem personally.⁸⁵ The above, of course, are merely the top of a sizable iceberg!

Conclusion

'Sport is completely free of politics'. This statement had been made by Avery Brundage in his role as President of the IOC in 1956. In this way he responded to the withdrawal of six Olympic member countries from the Melbourne Games in protest at the military conflicts in Hungary and Suez. The Melbourne protest was part of a general pattern established long before 1956 and which continued up to the present day. The absence of countries from international meetings such as the Olympic Games, either as a demonstration of protest or because of exclusion, has been a frequent phenomenon in the history of the Olympics. ⁸⁶ Politics is part of the organization of sport. Political processes exist whenever people in sports organizations make decisions about eligibility, game rules, organizing and overseeing events and about distributing rewards associated with sport. This is why many sports organizations are described as 'governing bodies'. The connection between sport and international relations is dependent on how the sports meetings are organized and promoted. When there is emphasis on competitive success, the national affiliations of athletes and medals achieved then there is little chance for the development of friendly relations regionally and internationally.

Today the states throughout the world rank, to some extent, according to the amount of interest their governments take in sport. There are states where sport is fully integrated in the political system and has thus become an important instrument in government policy on the one hand and on the other hand, there are states in which sport is organized by non-political organizations and is supposed to be free of political interference. There can be no doubt that in most Western countries some efforts have been made to exclude politics from sport. However, there are political implications in modern sport, which are unavoidable. In a world where success in sport is regarded as a measure of national vitality and prestige, one must be reconciled to the fact that sport has become the tool of politics. Furthermore, it is believed that sport builds character

and serves as the basis for group unity and solidarity. It is also believed that, regardless the differences in political or economic systems, sport is positively linked to people's lifestyle.⁸⁷ The Idealistic view of sport has some of its roots in Greek antiquity. It relates sport to physical perfection and sees athletic endeavour as the body striving for perfection. One variant of this view is the concept of physical and mental harmony. A rather more influential one is the concept of the healthy mind in the healthy body. The apolitical view is that sport is a world of its own. It is full of fun and excitement. But it has nothing to do with the real world and should be shielded from it. To keep politics out of sport presupposes that the existing organizations of sport are non-political and oppose any external interference apart from government funding.⁸⁸

International sport is often the tool of diplomacy. The state looms large where national image is concerned. International sport has always been a battle for national self-pride, a 'war without weapons'. Newly independent states have devoted great energy and resources to sport as a way of establishing themselves on the international stage. The communist countries consciously adopted a policy of providing communist superiority by outstripping the western countries in Olympic performance, a goal, which had been achieved remarkably successfully.⁸⁹ The relationship between sport and nationalism has rested upon a number of arguments and some of them are that sport is inherently conservative and that it helps to consolidate nationalism, patriotism and racism; that sport has some inherent property that makes it a possible instrument of national unity and integration; that sport helps to reinforce national consciousness and cultural nationalism and that sport has contributed to political struggles some of which have been closely connected to nationalist politics and popular nationalist struggles. Sport has often been involved in the process of nationalism as a national reaction to dependency and it contributes to a quest for identity through nostalgia, mythology, and invented or selected traditions.⁹⁰

Sport, however, has a positive contribution to make to world affairs. The sporting meetings encourage people from different countries, colour, religion and cultural background to come together in a spirit of friendship and good will. The connection, however, between sport and international relations is dependent on how the athletic meeting is staged and promoted and whether the emphasis is put on competitive success and medals or the establishment of friendly relations and collaboration between peoples. In the 1930s, the Balkan Games provided a rare example of how sport was utilized to bring together antagonistic states in an atmosphere of unity and good will. Against a Balkan scene of complex, confrontational national issues and athletes unable to compete successfully in sport in Europe, the Balkan Games emerged, an attempt to import sport into politics in the interests of regional peace, stability and conciliation. Moreover, any consideration of these Games must be set in the context of the emergence of modern sport in the region. A scrutiny of the establishment and promotion of the Games from 1929 to 1932 will now be attempted.

Footnotes

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- ²³ George Orwell, "The Sporting Spirit", Tribune, 14 December 1945. Orwell also observed that 'I am always amazed when I hear people saying that sport creates goodwill between the nations, and that if only the common peoples of the world could meet one another at football or cricket, they would have no inclination to meet on the battlefield. Even if one didn't know from concrete examples (the 1936 Olympic Games, for instance) that international sporting contests lead to orgies of hatred, one could deduce it from general principles. At the international level sport is frankly mimic warfare. But the significant thing is not the behaviour of the players but the attitude of the spectators: and behind the spectators, of the nations who work themselves into furies over these absurd contests, and seriously believe...that running, jumping and kicking a ball are tests of national virtue'. See George Orwell, "The Sporting Spirit", Tribune, 14 December 1945.
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CHAPTER 4

SPORT, POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE BALKANS: THE BALKAN GAMES FROM 1929 TO 1932

4.1 The background of the Games (1924-1928)

This chapter discusses in some detail the Balkan Games from their initiation in Athens in 1929 (under the name trial 'Balkaniad' or 'Pre-Balkaniad') to 1932. But first the background to this period will be discussed in order to set the scene and explain how relatively advantageous developments assisted in the creation of the Games. The Games were seen initially as a means of improving regional performances, as bridge building between antagonistic nations and restoring trust and friendship in the area.¹ The idea of the Balkan Games' creation was raised, for the first time, in 1921 during a session of the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association and resulted initially from the Balkan nations' inability to compete successfully in international athletic meetings.² At the same time, as noted above, the desire for unity and cooperation in the Balkan Peninsula also played an important role in their foundation. The idea matured throughout the 1920s to be put into practice in 1929, as mentioned above. A year later, in 1930, Balkan representatives from the domains of politics, science, trade and culture met at the first Balkan Conference in Athens in an effort to pave the way for enduring trans-Balkan cooperation and good fellowship. A channel of communication now opened up between the Balkan nations.

The establishment of this channel, it was hoped, would provide the regional governments with the opportunity to clarify national designs, aspirations and policies, to comprehend each other's positions on various crucial questions and hopefully approach each other in a spirit of goodwill. Romantics, Idealists and pragmatists from every corner of the region now joined in an effort to bring the Balkan peoples together and promote peace and collaboration. In this context, the foundation of a championship in which Balkan athletes could compete among equals, improve their performance, break national records and equip themselves for successful competition at European level, was seen as a promising idea. Athletic meetings between and involving the Balkan states, it was hoped, might help restore understanding in the Balkan Peninsula. Unofficial contact between sports representatives from Greece and members of the Rumanian Y.M.C.A. primarily aimed at communicating and advancing the idea of the establishment of regional games took place in the early 1920s. The Rumanians, however, were not amenable to involvement in athletic events. Only trans-Balkan football matches could be held. Until 1924 no progress was made and no further talks between sports representatives of the two states took place.³ The files of the Olympic Games Committee in Greece provide some information concerning the effort to the establishment of sports relations in the area in the early 1920s:

...During his visit to Athens, the General Director at the Y.M.C.A. Department of Physical Education, gave the President of the Olympic Games Committee a letter on behalf of M. Plagena, the President of the Rumanian Olympic Committee, by which the heir to the Rumanian throne invites Greece to participate in a session that will be held in Rumania on 30 September 1922. The possibility of establishing partly international competitions among Rumanian, Pole, Yugoslav, Czechoslovak and Greek athletes will be the under discussion matter...After several talks, the invitation was accepted and Greece will participate in the session. Its representatives will be assigned later.⁴

The session, for unknown reasons, was never held. In consequence, the proposal was not put into practice.

Fresh attempts at regional sports cooperation were made in Paris in 1924, on the occasion of the Olympic Games. Two leading personalities of the Hellenic sporting world, Pavlos Maniakes,⁵ sports historian and keen sports enthusiast, and Dimitrios Dallas, President of the 'Panionios' Athletic Association escorted the national team to Paris and were entrusted with meeting their Balkan opposite numbers, M. Dobrin from Yugoslavia and M. Ionomu from Rumania. The prospect of establishing athletic relations among the Balkan nations in general and the Balkan Games in particular, was the first item on the agenda.⁶ The Balkan delegates responded to the Greek proposal with enthusiasm, but they were not empowered to adopt resolutions and sign agreements. They promised, however, to discuss the proposal during the forthcoming sessions of their respective National Sports Associations and to keep in touch. For unknown reasons, there were no further discussions until 1928.⁷ The years from 1924 to 1928 were considered the gestation period of the proposal. In 1928, fourteen select athletes represented Greece in the Amsterdam Olympics. The preparation for the Games hit the news headlines and a great many reports were published exploring the possibility of a good Greek performance. Supremacy over Balkan competitors appeared feasible whereas supremacy over American and European athletes was clutching at straws.⁸

Michael Rinopoulos (1881-1959), a distinguished lawyer, economist, later General Secretary in the Ministry of Finance and one of the greatest figures in modern Greek sport, was appointed leader of the Greek delegation and Pavlos Maniakes was nominated as technical advisor; A. Pteris represented the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association.⁹ The 1928 Amsterdam Games provided the delegates from Greece with a fresh opportunity to hold a meeting with delegates and diplomats from the Balkan states. In his report to the Olympic Games Committee concerning the meeting in Amsterdam, Rinopoulos wrote:

...In order to discuss the matter in hand, I invited the representatives of the Balkan states to dinner. Koudret Bey, the Turkish Consul, Burhan Eddine Zia, President of the Turkish Sports Association and member of the Turkish Olympic Committee, the Bulgarian representative and S. Hazhi, the President of the Yugoslav Olympic Committee were all present. The Bulgarian and Yugoslav consuls and the General Secretary of the Rumanian Ministry of Health apologised for their absence. During the reception, the idea of establishing sports cooperation between the Balkan peoples was discussed. The representatives adopted the proposal and entrusted Greece with the necessary steps.¹⁰

The discussions again focused on the prospect for a new competitive innovation in which athletes would come exclusively from the Balkan Peninsula.¹¹ After a long period of wars, territorial claims and financial disputes, the establishment of athletic meetings in the Balkans, it was greatly hoped, might bring the Balkan states into peaceful contact with each other, leading to greater regional understanding, reconciliation and cultural cooperation.

Thus, the idea was at first well received and the prospects for its implementation looked good. But as soon as talks proceeded to matters touching on finance, the Balkan delegates became circumspect. A large outlay was required to fund the Games, an onerous burden for each of the Balkan countries. Modern sports facilities were required, travel tickets and accommodation for the national teams and the sports representatives would have to be covered by the state hosting the event. In any case, the Balkan representatives were not able to agree to commitments without the approval of their governments. Thus, finance and governmental approval appeared to be obstacles to the creation of the Games and the establishment of this sanguine attempt at athletic and diplomatic relations seemed bound to fail.¹² However, the Greek delegates suggested that Athens should stage a trial 'Balkanlad' in 1929, under the auspices of the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association (SEGAS). The expenses incurred by the Games together with the cost of the athletes' transport and accommodation in Athens would be defrayed by SEGAS.¹³ This suggestion met with

general approval. A start had been made. The Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association set the date of the Games and began a hectic period of preparation to overcome various difficulties and misgivings. Invitations were sent to the Bulgarian and Albanian Sports Associations, which were absent at the Amsterdam meeting. The Balkan states, except Albania, accepted the invitation. The Greek efforts had begun to bear fruit. Over the years, the fruit of the Games' foundation matured. Despite political and social unrest and economic problems, Greece took the lead to realise the ambitious idea.¹⁴

The 1929 trial 'Balkaniad' in Athens now will be explored. Moreover, a brief discussion of the critical agreement between Greece and Yugoslavia will provide useful information about the diplomatic scene in the area in the year of the Games' initiation. It should be noted that although Balkan relations have been discussed in chapter one, however, the Balkan Conferences, very important regional events (1930-1933), and the political agreements between Greece and its neighbours that marked the years of the Games are discussed side by side with the Games in an effort to demonstrate that considerable attempts were made to promote peace and cooperation between the Balkan peoples in the interwar years. More importantly, a consideration of these political events aims to juxtapose the Games, a long-lasting source of goodwill and friendship with the political agreements which turned to be short living, ineffectual and invalid when the national interests and security of the contracting states were threatened. In reality, the Games survived national disagreements and clashes and established channels of communication between rival states for almost a decade in the prewar years.

4.2 The 1929 trial 'Balkaniad' in Athens and the Founding Protocol. The 1929 political agreement between Greece and Yugoslavia

Before a discussion of the 1929 trial 'Balkaniad' in Athens, the political agreement between Greece and Yugoslavia, which preceded the Games, will be outlined in order to set the political scene in the region prior to the creation of the Games. Without this agreement, it is unlikely that the trial 'Balkaniad' would have taken place. The 1928 agreement between Greece and Italy, as discussed in chapter one,¹⁵ seemed to positively affect the Greco-Yugoslav rapprochement. The Italian presence in the Balkans due to the 1926 and 1927 treaties with Albania, the establishment of friendly relations between Italy and Rumania in 1926 and the 1928 Greco-Rumanian treaty of non-aggression, conciliation and arbitration increasingly aroused Yugoslavia's disquiet due to fears of diplomatic isolation. In consequence, the Greek side took pains to convince the Yugoslav government that rapprochement with Italy would not prove a brake to negotiations leading to a Greco-Yugoslav agreement.¹⁶ The discussions between Venizelos, the Greek Premier and Mussolini in 1928 had focused on the settlement of the Greco-Yugoslav dispute by means of a non-aggression treaty. A Greco-Yugoslav alliance was ruled out.¹⁷

The first meeting between the two sides took place between 26 September and 3 October 1928.¹⁸ This meeting in Belgrade between Venizelos and King Alexander of Yugoslavia for a Greek-Yugoslav political agreement coincided with civil convulsions in Yugoslavia. Serbian-Croat friction and the Italian threat got Yugoslavia into trouble. In August 1928, friction had reached a peak due to the assassination of Stefan Radic, the Croat President, event that roused Yugoslav fury. Moreover, the Yugoslavs protested against the Italian violence during anti-Italian demonstrations that had taken place in Spalato (Split) and Sebenico.¹⁹ Beyond all expectation, the sympathy and respect Venizelos and King Alexander had for each other produced a cordial meeting. Nonetheless, the Yugoslav Prime Minister, unexpectedly and for unknown reasons, took a hard stance on the Greco-Yugoslav issues. Despite pressure on the part of

France and British tactful advice, Belgrade's attitude stiffened again. Orme Sargent, Counsellor and later Assistant Undersecretary of State in the British Foreign Office, advised the Yugoslav government to take advantage of Venizelos' good intentions and settle matters concerning the Free Zone at the port of Thessaloniki.²⁰ However, Yugoslavia rejected this advice. Negotiations reached a deadlock.²¹

Fresh talks were initiated in 1929. In Geneva, on 17 March 1929, the Greek Foreign Minister agreed with his Yugoslav opposite number, two protocols. The protocols settled matters touching on the Serbian Free Zone at the port of Thessaloniki, which had been allotted to Yugoslavia in 1923. Thus, the way was paved for a final political agreement.²² The two protocols were followed by discussions about a political agreement between Greece and Yugoslavia. King Alexander of Yugoslavia followed the French advice to establish diplomatic relations with the neighbouring states. As a mark of goodwill, Yugoslavia opened the Yugoslav-Bulgarian frontiers and new efforts to rapprochement with Greece were made.²³ On 27 March 1929, a treaty of amity, conciliation and juridical arbitration between Greece and Yugoslavia was agreed. The treaty provided for the preservation of the *status quo* in the region as the Peace Treaties stipulated. In addition, the contracting parties would join forces to reduce regional friction.²⁴ Thus in late 1929, with Greece now on a friendly footing with Yugoslavia, with the prospect of a *détente* between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and an agreement between Greece and Turkey, the political scene in the Balkans appeared promisingly positive. Relations between Bulgaria and Greece still left much to be desired although friction was less marked since the settlement of the frontier incident, which brought the two countries to the brink of war in October 1925. There were also unsettled issues between Bulgaria and Rumania particularly with regard to the

liquidation of Bulgarian properties, which had been sequestered since the Great War and the expropriation of land of Bulgarian small holders in Rumania.²⁵

With regard to relations between Rumania and Yugoslavia, the two countries, as fellow members of the 'Little Entente', were linked by a treaty of alliance. Relations between Rumania and Greece had remained friendly since the 1928 treaty. Albania, by this time, was living on reasonably good terms with its neighbours and although the Yugoslav suspicions that Albania was Italy's pawn had not dissipated, there had been no confrontation. As for Turkey, which ranked as a Balkan state, though only in virtue of a very small part of its territory, its relations with Bulgaria were good, a Turkish-Yugoslav treaty of friendship dated from 1925 and no outstanding problems troubled Turkey and Rumania. The two states had initiated a close cooperation on 11 June 1929 through a trade convention.²⁶ In the final analysis, the settlement of regional differences had resulted in an improvement in relations, but the possibility of military confrontation was not eliminated.

It was in these relatively improved Balkan diplomatic and political circumstances that the Balkan Games were initiated in September 1929 to be officially inaugurated in 1930, in an effort to promulgate a spirit of unity and understanding through sports meetings. In the meantime, discussions for the establishment of the Balkan Football Cup had already been initiated. It too was viewed as possible source of improved relations between the Balkan nations. Although this study does not intend to explore the evolution of Balkan football, the most popular sport in the region, it is worth discussing in brief the Balkan Football Cup's establishment which coincided chronologically with the initiation of the Games. In contrast to the Games, the Balkan Football Cup was short lived (1929-1936) and faced ups and downs. It seems that poor performances disappointed the Balkan world of football and its enthusiasts. The

foundation of the Balkan Football Cup preceded the Balkan Games. A few months prior to the 1929 trial 'Balkaniad' in Athens and while the deliberation for the Games was in progress, sports delegates from Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia met in Belgrade on 15 April 1929, for the first time after the Great War, and discussed the foundation of the Balkan Football Cup. Turkey was not represented at the session but it later officially notified the Balkan football representatives that it implicitly accepted the resolutions. Rumania was represented by Captain Sabin Modenaou from the Rumanian Football Association, Apostolos Nikolaides, Vice-president of the Hellenic Football Association, represented Greece; Bulgaria was represented by Ivan Slavof from the Bulgarian Football Association while M. Riboli from the Yugoslav Football Association represented Yugoslavia.²⁷

The results of the meeting were positive. Regional football matches were scheduled to begin in autumn 1929. Furthermore, general agreement was achieved on various technical and financial matters. A Cup Committee would be established to be in charge of the matches' organization as well as of the administration and control of the Balkan Football Associations. The representatives of the contracting Balkan Football Associations would be members of the Committee whose headquarters was to be appointed every two years. The Committee would meet twice a year. The first session on the Cup was scheduled to be held in May 1929 in Bucharest, then in Constantinople in 1930 and, in turn, in Sofia, Athens and Belgrade.²⁸ It was also agreed that the football matches would follow the regulations of the matches for the International Football Cup. Four matches would take place every year with the participation of Rumania, Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Turkey. Moreover, each of the Balkan Football Associations would pay travel and accommodation expenses of its footballers and delegates. Dollar was agreed to be the official currency for the payment. Finally, the Balkan football representatives agreed to support the Czechoslovakia's proposal

concerning the way the European Football Championship was organised. The session of the International Football Associations was scheduled to take place in Madrid. The Balkan delegates left Belgrade content with the outcome and appeared optimistic about further trans-Balkan cooperation with both the Balkan Games and Balkan Football Cup up and running.²⁹

As agreed, in May 1929, the Balkan Football representatives again met in Bucharest and finalised arrangements for the newly established Balkan football matches. They chose by lot the competing teams and signed the Founding Protocol of the Balkan Football Cup.³⁰ Despite the first enthusiasm, Turkey did not respond to the invitation and was finally barred from the 1929 and 1930 matches. Captain Modenaou from Rumania was elected President of the Committee. Following the draw, Rumania would play versus Yugoslavia in October 1929 in Bucharest, Greece was to play versus Yugoslavia in January 1930 in Athens, Yugoslavia would meet Bulgaria in April 1930 in Belgrade, Rumania would play versus Greece in May 1930 in Bucharest, Bulgaria versus Greece in June 1930 in Sofia while Bulgaria would meet Rumania in July 1930 in Sofia.³¹ There was widespread publication. Comments like this were typical:

...the establishment of the Balkan Football Cup is a good omen for the development of football in the Balkans and will pave the way for further sports meetings between the Balkan states.³²

In Greece, Venizelos, the Prime Minister, talking about his government's policy in sport, stated that:

...I intend to turn the interest of the Greek young to sport in general and football in particular. I believe that football contributes to the creation of a team spirit, which first promotes cooperation and then enables people to overcome individualism and develop a spirit of joint effort to society's progress and prosperity.³³

The interest of Venizelos in sport was anticipated to give an impulse to Greek football and the newly established Balkan Football Cup. Greece played versus Bulgaria in Sofia in October 1931 and versus Rumania in Athens in November of the same year. The Balkan Committee on football met in Athens in November 1931 and held a meeting with the Greek Premier, who promised his government's financial and moral support.³⁴ Turkey was involved regularly in the matches from 1932 onwards. In 1932 and 1933, the Balkan Football Cup took place in Sofia, Bulgaria and received considerable government financial support.³⁵ The fourth Balkan Football Cup, which was scheduled to take place in Athens in late December 1934, was discussed by the representatives of the Balkan Football Associations at a meeting on 28 August of the same year. The event was expected to attract the interest of the Greek sports enthusiasts and was to be held with due solemnity. For this reason, Panages Tsaldares, Prime Minister of Greece, was nominated as honorary president of the organizing committee. Makropoulos, Minister of Education, and A. Papanastassiou, President of the Committee for the Balkan Understanding, were nominated as honorary vice-presidents. The majors of Athens and Piraeus, members of Parliament and Ph. Karvelas, Director at the Physical Education Department, were all appointed members of the Committee.³⁶

Despite good intentions and considerable efforts, the Balkan Football matches expired in 1936. In September 1937, the Greek Football Association notified the Rumanian and Bulgarian Football Associations that it was not to participate in the 1937 matches for the Balkan Football Cup. After this, the President of the Bulgarian Football Association suggested that the scheduled football meetings should be cancelled.³⁷ The Bulgarian press now supported the proposal and commented that 'the Balkan football matches do not any more attract the interest of the sports fans.'³⁸ Clearly the Balkan Football Cup was a victim of the deteriorating relations that characterised the

diplomatic and political Balkan landscape of the late 1930s. Born in optimism, it died in pessimism. Sport, even football-that hugely popular activity-was not a diplomatic and political panacea.

While discussions for the establishment of the Balkan Football Cup were taking place, the preparations for the 'Balkaniad' in Athens were in full progress throughout 1929. On 4 May 1929, the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association officially announced the staging of the Games and invited the Balkan Sports Associations to be involved:

...The Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association announces the 'Pan-Balkan' Games, which are scheduled to be held in the second half of September and invites the Balkan Sports Associations to notify it of their involvement up to 15th of June. The Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association has been engaged to pay transfer and accommodation expenses for fifteen athletes and two sports delegates from each of the competing states. The Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association made this resolution after having accepted the Apostolos Nikolaides' proposal. Nikolaides, who represented Greece at the Balkan Football Session in Belgrade, met and discussed with the Balkan sports representatives the prospects of the establishment of the 'Pan-Balkan' Games. Since there was not much hope for the Games' realisation resulted from financial difficulties, Greece is engaged to pay the expenditure of the Balkan athletic teams.³⁹

The invitation was accepted by the Balkan states with enthusiasm. On 18 May 1929, the Bulgarian and Rumanian Sports Associations responded most positively.⁴⁰ Then close to the trial 'Balkaniad' in Athens, on 3 September 1929, Selvelief, the Bulgarian chief-editor of the newspaper *Sport* of Sofia, wrote:

... In fact, the news of the Games in Athens attracted the interest of the Balkan states. Although Bulgaria does not expect victories for the present, it aspires, however, to make a good show in the competitions. The day of the Games' initiation is drawing near and our athletes are being intensively trained in the hope of improving performances.⁴¹

From its onset, the event raised hopes that sport might be more successful and effective in bringing about regional rapprochement and cooperation than political talks. A few months prior to the initiation of the Games, Venizelos, the Greek Prime Minister, put a more nationalistic point of view forward:

...Sport has always been interwoven with the Greek nation's life and not only should modern Greeks hold it as an obligation, but also as a primarily sacred tradition that our ancestors' example imposes on us. Enthusiasm for sport should not be followed as a rising trend of the time by which the modern world is seduced. If sport is put into practice methodically and if the ancient Hellenic spirit inspires it, it will be, together with the reforms our government is promoting, one of the factors on which we can pin our hopes for the improvement of the Greek nation. The present government, guardian of tradition and noble ideals and realising the active role sport can play in the nation's good physical state and in the pursuit of high ideals and values will offer moral and financial support to sport.⁴²

The statement of the Prime Minister was made at particular critical moment inasmuch as the Games' establishment was under discussion and Venizelos' statement was seen as a positive step for both modern sport in Greece and for the Balkan Games.

The trial 'Balkaniad', with Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Rumania involved, opened in Athens on 22 September 1929.⁴³ It was staged under the patronage of Admiral Pavlos Koudouriotes, President of the Hellenic Republic. The Honorary Committee of the Games consisted of Eleftherios Venizelos, Andreas Michalakopoulos, Foreign Minister, Constantinos Gontikas, Minister of Education, Ivan Danchef, L. Raskano and Theometor Popvic, Ambassadors of Bulgaria, Rumania and Yugoslavia respectively, Spyros Merkoures, Mayor of Athens, George Averof, President of the Hellenic Olympic Committee and Marco Mindler, Honorary President of the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association.⁴⁴ In short, the great and the good of Greece were fully committed to it. In a press conference on the eve of the Games, G. Koseivanof, the Bulgarian Ambassador in Athens, commented propitiously about the Greek initiative in hosting the meeting in Athens and remarked that sport could and should be conducive

to the restoration of trans-Balkan relations, which were embittered by serious national differences and interminable disputes:

...The sporting meetings between the Balkan states are capable of creating an amicable atmosphere between the peoples of the area and can facilitate peaceful coexistence. Participation in the Games offers the young the opportunity to create bonds of friendship and to obtain memories that will be useful, in the future, for the restoration of trust and the promotion and consolidation of peace in a region, which has suffered national conflicts many times in the past. In consequence, I see the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association's initiative as a positive step and express the wish that the efforts would be intensified.⁴⁵

There could be no clearer evidence of the diplomatic and political aspirations of the nations involved. Ministers, members of the Greek Parliament, the ambassadors of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Rumania in Athens as well as high-ranking military officers were all invited to give an official stamp to the first Balkan athletic meeting.⁴⁶ The official guests may be seen in Figure 4.1. The Greeks proved their enthusiasm for the Games by their presence at them. The Panathinaikon Stadium swarmed with more than 50,000 Athenian spectators who gave a rousing welcome to Balkan athletes and sports delegates. Michael Rinopoulos, President of the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association, who addressed the audience, emphasized the necessity of promoting sport in the Balkans in a spirit of fair competition, friendship and cooperation. 'We welcome you with enthusiasm and sincere feelings of friendship and feel proud that we receive the Balkan young for the first time in the Panathinaikon Stadium, which opens its gates to embrace them all', Rinopoulos concluded.⁴⁷ Then, the Minister of the Navy, who represented the Minister of Education, opened the Games pointing out their political role:

...In the firm belief that this sports event reinforces the athletic spirit, establishes contact between the neighbouring peoples and promotes the idea of the Balkan Union, I open the Games.⁴⁸

Greek enthusiasm and hope were evident.

FIGURE 4.1



THE OFFICIAL GUESTS AT THE 1929 'BALKANIAD' IN ATHENS.
(Eleftheron Vima, 1 October 1929)

The sports event hit the Greek news headlines. Again, the political role of the meeting was emphatically stressed:

...The Panathinaikon Stadium is the venue for the Balkan athletes who compete in a spirit of fair play and good will. Without doubt, some political good will emerge from the Games and sport will prove more effective than the political long lasting deliberations, to the Balkan peoples' advantage.⁴⁹

The Greek press expressed optimism for the improvement of trans-Balkan relations through sport. A complimentary telegram was sent by King Boris of Bulgaria to the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association:

... Deeply touched, I thank you for the warm compliments you sent to me on the occasion of the participation of the Bulgarian athletes in the Balkan Games.⁵⁰

In its telegram to the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association, the Yugoslav Sports Association, expressing hope for further and permanent cooperation between the states of the Balkan Peninsula, added that 'we feel happy for the participation of our athletes in the Balkan Games, which are held in the ancient stadium of Athens and send to you our best wishes. We hope that the efforts at a close collaboration between

the Balkan states will soon bear fruits.⁵¹ Balkan political and diplomatic optimism and ambition were evident.

The curtain of the Games came down on 29 September 1929 in the presence of the Greek Minister of Education and the envoys of the competing states.⁵² The valedictory speech was delivered by Michael Rinopoulos, who once again called attention to the need for understanding in the Balkans and remarked that the spirit of unity and goodwill that brought the athletes closer to each other could and should lead the Balkan nations down the road of conciliation and trust:

...I also advise athletes and delegates to promote inside and outside their respective country the hope for peace and collaboration in the region.⁵³

Thus the Games ended with a clear political aspiration for good fellowship and cooperation in the Balkan Peninsula. In the 1929 'Balkaniad', Yugoslavia participated with twenty four athletes, Rumania with nineteen, Bulgaria with thirteen athletes and Greece with thirty six. The Games included 100m, 200m, 400m, 800m, 1,500m, 5,000m and 10,000m race, marathon, 4x100m and 4x400m relay, 110m hurdle race, long jump, triple jump, high jump, pole-vault, discus and javelin throwing and shot put. The spectators encouraged the athletes in their endeavour with warm applause and the some excellent performances aroused great enthusiasm. Greece came first, Yugoslavia second, Rumania third and Bulgaria fourth.⁵⁴ G. Pentan from Bulgaria (on the left) and G. Georgakopoulos from Greece (on the right), who achieved first and second place in 1,500m race respectively, may be seen in Figure 4. 2.

FIGURE 4.2



G. PENTAN AND G.GEORGAKOPOULOS, THE FIRST TWO WINNERS IN 1,500M RACE AT THE 1929 TRIAL 'BALKANIAD'.
(Dimitris Bondikoulis' Collection, Sport Museum, Athens)

There was only one disharmonious note. Turkey did not receive an invitation to the Games and in consequence, there were negative comments from the Turkish press about Greek traditional antipathy. A reporter in the Turkish newspaper 'Milliyet', complaining about the fact, wrote that 'we conclude that the Greeks did not invite us to the Games on purpose' and observed, in a way of humour, that 'they possibly are afraid of the Turkish athletes' performances.'⁵⁵ The Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association attempted to retrieve an embarrassing situation and to repair associated political tensions by assuring the Turks that 'it was simply a regrettable omission on the Greek part without any ulterior motive.'⁵⁶ In reality, Turkey had not been invited since internationally it was considered more an Asiatic than a Balkan state. However, the actual meaning of the term 'Balkan' was not discussed by those involved in the Games and later in the Balkan Conferences.

During the Games sports delegates from four competing states met in the Hall of the Olympic Academy in Athens on 23 September 1929 to discuss the official establishment of the Games on an annual basis.⁵⁷ Constantinos Gontikas, the Greek Minister of Education and Ioannes Chryssafes, Director of the Physical Education Department, attended the meeting. Rumania was represented by Octav Lucid and Th. Popovic, Bulgaria by M. Drumev and Petro Katsef, Yugoslavia by M. Dobrin and Greece by M. Rinopoulos.⁵⁸ George Kitsos, representative of the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association reviewed the background of the Games and reported on the prospects:

...Four years before the staging of the 1929 'Balkaniad', the Bulgarian Sports Association had proposed a regional athletic tournament. The Bulgarian proposal, however, did not win support for reasons beyond the Balkan Sports Associations' control. Nonetheless, the first Greco-Bulgarian athletic meeting in Athens in 1927 was regarded as partial realisation of the initial proposal. In fact, prior to this proposal, the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association had sought approval for the foundation of annual regional athletic meetings that would be held in sequence in the capitals of the competing states. More importantly, athletes from small and poor states, which cannot adequately finance athletic activities, compete with athletes from rich states. Two serious reasons motivated the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association to make the proposal: the weak performance of the less privileged athletes that established the indisputable superiority of privileged athletes, and the hope that sport is capable of improving relations between the Balkan peoples thus contributing to the consolidation of peace and unity. These arguments won the unanimous approval of the Balkan Sports Associations and now Greece has the happiness and honour to play host to the Games in Athens.⁵⁹

Once again, in this statement the diplomatic and political aspirations of the competing states were clearly set out. The Balkan sports representatives, who were entrusted by the respective Balkan Sports Associations to discuss the establishment of the Games, accepted the proposal for the official foundation of the Balkan Games on a regular basis but declared that their associations were not capable of staging the Games in 1930 due to financial difficulties. For this reason, they suggested that the Games should be held in Athens the following year with the added participation of Turkey and Albania.⁶⁰

On 27 September 1929, the draft of the Founding Protocol of the Games was agreed and signed by M. Drumev and Petro Katchef from the Bulgarian Sports Association, Octav Lucid from the Rumanian Athletic Association, M. Dobrin on behalf of the Yugoslav Association and Michael Rinopoulos and George Kitsos from the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association. The Protocol was the crowning achievement of considerable effort, and the starting point of the Games' consolidation. In accordance with the Protocol, the Games were to start officially in 1930 and to be held in sequence, in the capitals of the involved states. It was obligatory for each of the competing countries to provide a minimum of twenty athletes. In the event that the state, which was to stage the Games, was not in a position to do this, it should notify the other countries of the situation at least six months before the scheduled opening day.⁶¹ Under the terms of the Protocol, Turkey and Albania had the possibility of involvement in the Games with the same responsibilities and rights as the other competing states with the exception that they would not have the right to stage the Games in the first four years. The Games initially would include only athletic events, but there was provision for an extension of events in the following years with the proviso that general consent would be obtained for this. Greece undertook to organise the Games from 1930 to 1933 in view of economic difficulties faced by the Balkan Sports Associations. Nevertheless, if one of the competing states was, in fact, in a position to stage the competitions in this four-year period, then Greece would desist from staging the meeting with the proviso that the fact would be made known in good time. Technical and administration instructions were also included in the Protocol.⁶²

In the form of a congratulatory telegram from Paris where he was on official visit, Venizelos, the Greek Premier, on 24 September 1929, had given his blessing to the Games:

...I was truly moved by the compliments you sent to me on behalf of the Balkan young to whom I send my profound thanks and best wishes. I express the wish that good fellowship, peace and collaboration through sport and the ideals it fosters would be established and strengthened to the Balkan peoples' advantage.⁶³

On 3 October, Venizelos from Berlin where he was on official visit, after his visit to Paris, sent a telegram of thanks to M. Rinopoulos, who had previously informed him about the official establishment of the Games and the signing of the Founding Protocol.

To quote the Greek Prime Minister:

...I extend my profound thanks to you for letting me know about the agreement on the official establishment of the 'Pan-Balkan' Games. I congratulate you on your efforts to promote Balkan sport and to bring the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula together. I hope that the sports meetings will facilitate rapprochement and cooperation between the Balkan peoples in the interests of regional peace and progress.⁶⁴

Furthermore, Rinopoulos received a telegram of thanks from the Minister of King Carol of Rumania. The telegram sent on behalf of the Rumanian King read as follows:

...His Royal Highness entrusted me to give you his thanks for the friendly feelings you expressed, on behalf of the Greek world of sport, on the occasion of the foundation of the Balkan Games. The King expresses his devout wishes for the Games.⁶⁵

Implicit in this message there was the desire for improved Balkan relations. It should be noted that there is no evidence that the public statements of Balkan politicians and diplomats who advocated the positive role of the Games in the region contradicted their private statements.

Returning to Greece from his visit to European capitals, Venizelos met Rinopoulos and had the opportunity to speak once again about the political role of the newly established Games:

...I congratulate you on the successful organization of the Balkan Games, which are an additional positive step for the rapprochement between the Balkan states. I'm enthusiastic over the idea of the Games and their initiation was one of the most important news that reached me from Greece when I was abroad. I'm gratified to know that Turkey and Albania have been invited to be involved in the following Games. In this way, the efforts at the promotion of regional cooperation will be strengthened and a

beneficial outcome is expected from such an initiative. I feel satisfied at the fact that Greece, at the time being, is capable of staging and promoting the Games.⁶⁶

In this way, once more the Greek Prime Minister made it absolutely clear that he recognized the political role sport might hopefully play in trans-Balkan relations. He had long held this view. As already mentioned, the creation of the Games coincided with the third premiership of Eleftherios Venizelos (1928-1932), sports enthusiast and a politician of vision. His government now advocated the new regional Games to bring the Balkan nations together in understanding and unity through sport. Furthermore, the foundation of the Games positively influenced modern sport in Greece after an interminable period of underdevelopment and lack of government interest.

Apart from the Games, the Balkan Conferences, the first non-political meetings of Balkan representatives from the domains of science, politics and culture, were inaugurated in Athens in 1930 and marched side by side with the Games up to 1933.⁶⁷ Both the Games and the Conferences aspired to regional rapprochement and cooperation. Perhaps, more significantly, the 1930 Greek-Turkish agreement opened up new horizons for peace and conciliation in the area. The 1930 Games will now be considered in conjunction with a brief review of the first Balkan Conference and the Greek-Turkish agreement to reveal the extent of the effort made to restore optimism, understanding and collaboration in the Balkan Peninsula.

4.3 The official initiation of the Games in 1930. The Greek-Turkish agreement and the first Balkan Conference

One of the most important regional political agreements in the interwar period was that between Greece and Turkey, two traditionally antagonistic states. An inquiry into the 1930 notorious Greco-Turkish agreement will contribute to a better

understanding of the Balkan diplomatic scene in the year the Balkan Games were inaugurated. The desire for rapprochement with Turkey was revealed in Venizelos' electoral speech on 22 July 1928 in Thessaloniki, when he publicly announced that Greece waived any outstanding territorial claims and sought to establish friendly relationships with Turkey.⁶⁸ After his electoral triumph in August 1928, the Greek Premier sent a letter to Ismet Inonu, his Turkish opposite number and to Tewfik Rushdi, the Foreign Minister. Their positive response encouraged Venizelos. Both states appeared to have no territorial claims on each other, but the Turkish side stressed the need to settle outstanding financial questions.⁶⁹ However, the Greek government decided to seek support from France and Britain. Clement Simon, the French Ambassador in Athens, made known to the Greek government that France was not amenable to pressure on Turkey and would observe the regional developments from a distance.⁷⁰

As for the British, in accordance with Sir Percy Loraine's statement to Count Dino Grandi, the Italian Ambassador in London, Britain believed that the small states could and should settle the dispute by themselves so that the balance of forces in the area may be maintained.⁷¹ In contrast, Italy, which sought to increase its influence in the Eastern Mediterranean, was amenable to involvement in the negotiations between Greece and Turkey. Discussions on Greco-Turkish agreement was expected to be strenuous and long lasting due to traditional hostility and the protests that would be raised in Greece on their announcement. Questions touching on the Greek community in Constantinople and on trade exchanges most concerned the Greek government.⁷² The Greek refugees, however, opposed Venizelos' plans. They had given him their vote anticipating that he would secure sufficient indemnities for the abandoned properties in Asia Minor in 1922. Contrary to expectation, Venizelos had adopted conciliatory policies. This was not all. Although Greece had given in to many of

Turkey's claims, Ankara adopted an uncompromising attitude. Turkish intransigence resulted from the fact that the Greek properties left in Asia Minor were of greater value than the Turkish properties left in Greece.⁷³ Despite difficulties and obstacles, however, in July 1929, Spyridon Polychroniades, the Greek representative, was accredited to Ankara to further promote efforts at conciliation. Likewise, Kemal Ataturk told the Turkish Foreign Minister to eliminate the obstacles to rapprochement with Greece.⁷⁴ The presence for the first time of Mehmet Enis Akaygen, the Turkish Ambassador in Athens, at the official 'Te Deum' on the anniversary of the Greek Independence was regarded as mark of goodwill.⁷⁵ On 12 July 1929, Venizelos drew up a memorandum on his recent meeting with the Turkish Ambassador in Athens. The Greek Premier suggested that the Greeks, who had left Constantinople with an Ottoman passport, should be permitted to return and that issues touching on the properties of the exchanged populations should be settled.⁷⁶ Ankara rejected the proposals and Rushdi Bey, the Turkish Foreign Minister, stated that Turkey would not accept return of these people. This resulted in the seizure of properties to the value of 400,000 lire by the Turkish government, an action, which the Greek side understandably opposed. The discussions reached again a deadlock.⁷⁷

However, progress in the Greco-Turkish talks was made early in the 1930s. It seemed that Turkey had realized that the settlement of pending issues was to be of benefit to both sides.⁷⁸ In point of fact, the Lausanne treaty had provided Greece and Turkey with the possibility of conciliation with the proviso that both countries should waive territorial claims.⁷⁹ By April 30 1930, only a small number of issues remained unsettled and Tewfik Rushdi Bey, the Turkish Foreign Minister, suggested that the negotiations should be continued with all speed.⁸⁰ The further efforts bore fruit on 10 June 1930 when a Convention was agreed in Ankara by Spyridon Polychroniades, the Greek representative and Tewfik Rushdi Bey. Consisting of twelve chapters, the

Convention provided for the liquidation of the questions, which had been generated by the implementation of the Lausanne treaty and the exchange of populations.⁸¹ On the thorny issue of the property, both governments came to the conclusion that it was impossible to arrive at a just and accurate estimate on its value. Therefore they agreed to consider both Greek and Turkish claims as balancing one another.⁸²

Greece, however, considered the settlement of the Greco-Turkish economic differences unjust. Athens felt that properties of some 1,200,000 Greeks in Asia Minor, most of them wealthy, were of greater value than properties left behind by some 400,000 Muslims. In consequence, and in the view of the financial terms involved, the Ankara Convention was considered a Turkish success with enormous Greek concessions for the sake of rapprochement. Venizelos took the view that the renunciation of financial claims was the price Greece had to pay to safeguard the future of the Greek minority in Constantinople.⁸³ In fact, the terms of the Convention gave rise to vigorous protests in both countries and dominated the Chamber debates both in Athens and Ankara. The opposition was strong. Nonetheless, the notorious Convention was ratified on 23 July 1930 in the presence of Turkish and Greek representatives. The road to political agreement was open.⁸⁴ On 10 June 1930, the very day of the conclusion of the Greco-Turkish Convention, Ismet Inonu, the Turkish Premier, sent a cordial letter to Venizelos and invited him to Ankara. The invitation was accepted. A new era opened up in the area.⁸⁵

Venizelos and Michalakopoulos, Foreign Minister from July 1929, arrived in Constantinople and then traveled to Ankara where they were received with enthusiasm on 25 October 1930. Three diplomatic instruments, a treaty of neutrality, conciliation and arbitration, a protocol on parity of the naval armaments and a trade agreement were the official purpose of Venizelos' visit.⁸⁶ Cordial speeches crowned the agreement

of 30th October 1930. At the official banquet, Ismet Inonu addressed the official guests. In the responses that followed Venizelos focused on the prospects of the agreement and made clear that there would be long-term beneficial results.⁸⁷ The Greek Prime Minister was satisfied with the unexpectedly warm reception he received from Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the President of the Turkish Republic. Kemal's favourable comments about the Greek troops' bravery in the Asia Minor expedition surprised and pleased Venizelos. The Turkish President stated that Turkey desired friendly relationships with Greece and Bulgaria, but it was particularly circumspect about Yugoslavia. Kemal appeared amenable to an agreement between Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria, which, it was hoped that might pave the way for talks with both Yugoslavia and Rumania with the purpose of promoting the 'Balkan Entente'.⁸⁸ A year later, on 5 October 1931, the instruments of ratification of the 1930 Ankara agreement were exchanged in Athens in a return visit paid by Ismet Inonu and Tewfik Rushdi.⁸⁹

These diplomatic developments could now have been more opportune for the establishment and success for the newly created Balkan Games. Furthermore, the Games were intended, as has been made clear earlier, to reinforce the new and amicable relations between Greece and Turkey in particular. Thus the official visit of the Turkish politicians to Athens on 5 October 1931 coincided with the opening of the Balkan Games of the same year (they will be discussed later in this chapter). The presence of the Prime Ministers of two states in 1931 was seen as of great significance and reinforced the usefulness of the Games for diplomatic purposes. Cultural contacts had begun. The Games were to consolidate these developments. Public opinion in Turkey welcomed the positive evolution in Greco-Turkish relations.⁹⁰ In the interests of good relations in the region, both Greece and Turkey joined forces to restore trust and cooperation in Southeastern Europe and supported the Balkan Conferences, which took place from 1930 until 1933. Like Yugoslavia and Rumania and unlike Bulgaria and

Albania, Greece and Turkey were satisfied with the *status quo*. The two countries had realized that their interests could be served only by the consolidation of peace and the promotion of collaboration.⁹¹ In these favourable prospects for Greco-Turkish relations the first official prewar Balkan Games took place in Athens. The 5th of October 1930 marked the inauguration of the Games. Five Balkan countries, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece were involved. Uncompromising enthusiasm of both performers and spectators enlivened the opening ceremony, which took place at the Panathinaikon Stadium with all the proper solemnities. Diplomatic and sports representatives from the Balkan Peninsula arrived in Athens to attend the Games and by their presence to express the desire for peace and friendship in the region.⁹²

Since this study *de facto* examines essentially the political dimensions of the Balkan Games, it should, however, be made clear that, for various reasons, tourism in general and sports tourism in particular was not well developed in the Balkans in the interwar years. Today sports tourism is a feature of global travel and receives close attention from specialists in sports studies. In this regard, however, projection of the present into the past serves no useful purpose in any consideration of the early moments of the Balkan Games. The athletic events were attended by the local population, official guests and sports delegates who travelled by train or by ship for many hours, even for some days, to reach the Games. Financial limitations, relatively few hotels and poor road networks and rail in the Balkans in the interwar years did not offer the possibility of safe or comfortable travel from one state to the other. Indeed, one of the items on the agenda of the Balkan Conferences that were held from 1930 to 1933 (they will be briefly discussed later in this section) was the improvement of the road and rail networks and the construction of new roads and railways. Financial difficulties and lack of government tourist policies put serious obstacles in the way for the realisation of these ambitions. The Greek Ministry of Tourism was only established

in late 1937. The Second World War, obviously, ended abruptly any effort at the development of tourism in the country. Thus, the Greek Ministry of Tourism was re-activated only in the 1950s. Thus, inter alia, sports tourism became developing in the Balkans in a slow pace. It saw a speedy development only from the 1980s onwards.⁹³ Consequently, official documents and newspapers reports concerning the prewar Games did not offer information about visitors and sports enthusiasts who travelled to the place of the athletic meeting for the single reason that there were not any.

The presence of the Greek Premier, ministers, Balkan ambassadors and consuls as well as of the Balkan national delegates to the first Balkan Conference, whose opening coincided with the opening ceremony of the Games, did give them a diplomatic and political flavour.⁹⁴ Figure 4.3 shows the Greek Premier at the entrance of the Panathinaikon Stadium.

FIGURE 4.3



ELEFThERIOS VENIZELOS, THE GREEK PREMIER, ENTERS THE PANATHINAIKON STADIUM TO ATTEND THE 1930 GAMES.
(Panathinaikon Stadium. A 2300 Years Long History, Athens: Central Organising Committee of the 6th World Championship in Athens, 1977, p. 35)

More importantly, as noted earlier, the involvement of the Turkish athletes in the Games was of particular interest and significance inasmuch as, for the first time,

athletes from Turkey were involved in competitions in Greece after a long period of serious national differences and poor diplomatic relations between the two countries.⁹⁵

Throughout the 1930s, the Balkan Games were covered, with a great deal of full-page descriptions and comments, by the press of the country, which hosted the event and by journalists from the states, which were involved in the sporting meetings. More significantly, a careful investigation of newspapers of the time reveals that the Balkan athletes were involved in the Games under the flag of the country in which they were living. Any minority opposition was not strong enough to generate problems or to put obstacles in the way of the Games. That's why there is no record of opposition from minority groups in any of the countries involved. Thus spectators, athletes, sports delegates and official guests who attended the first official Balkan Games in 1930 seemed to be united-determined to celebrate the inter-nationalism rather than the intra-nationalism of the occasion. No pointed manifestations of nationalism, fanaticism or racial discrimination were apparent.⁹⁶ The Games caught the attention and interest of the Balkan world of sport. This was evident in a letter of the Bulgarian Olympic Committee to the President of the Olympic Games Committee in Greece a few months prior to the official inauguration of the Games in Athens. The Bulgarian Olympic Committee expressed its pleasure for the sporting event and stressed the necessity for promotion of trans-Balkan sports relations:

...The Bulgarian Olympic Committee greeted with great pleasure the Games which the Hellenic Sports Association took the initiative to organise in Athens in 1929 and 1930. In recent years, cooperation between the Balkan Sports Associations in football, cycling, motorcycling, tennis, fencing, etc. is frequent. This cooperation deserves further encouragement and promotion. Without doubt, the development of sports relations will infallibly contribute to the consolidation of the Inter-Balkan Games which should be staged periodically following a steady schedule.⁹⁷

The Bulgarian Olympic Committee, speaking in flattering terms of Greece, also suggested that the title of regional 'Olympics', a Hellenic name, should be given to the

Games. The Olympic Games Committee in Athens, however, responded politely that the name of 'Olympiad' had been given to the International Olympic Games.⁹⁸

The 1930 Games, which were also called the 'Peace Games' opened in a festive atmosphere. The Panathinaikon Stadium was filled to capacity. Sixty thousand of spectators were keen to encourage and applaud all the athletes. The athletes' parade, the oath and the raising of the Olympic flag and the flags of the competing states were all performed in exemplary fashion. Then the athletes formed into line before the official guests and the Choir of the National Conservatory sang the Hymn to Peace with lyrics by the Greek poet Kostis Palamas and the Balkan Hymn with lyrics by Athanasiades and music by G. Labelet.⁹⁹ These momentous Games, at least regionally, were now addressed by Venizelos, who focused on the active role of sport in trans-Balkan relationships and regional cooperation. The Greek Prime Minister advised the athletes to foster the atmosphere of rapprochement and good fellowship inaugurated by the Games:

...I express my devout wishes and send warm greetings to you, the representatives of the Balkan young. I have the sincere belief that sports meetings in general and the Balkan Games in particular promote good fellowship and understanding between the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula and foster virtues whose values are unquestionable. I wish sporting meetings would take place more often. Everybody recognises that they contribute to the creation of an amicable atmosphere and the establishment of friendly ties between the young of the Balkans. When the day arrives and some of you go into politics, then good fellowship and understanding which now are fostered and promoted through sport, will contribute to further rapprochement and cooperation between the Balkan peoples. With feelings of pleasure and hopefulness, I open the first Balkan Games and welcome you to Athens.¹⁰⁰

Then, in turn, the heads of the Balkan delegations to the Balkan Conference addressed the audience. H. Lafontaine, President of the International Peace Committee, in a short address, characterised the associations established by the Games as 'the forerunners of further regional collaboration.'¹⁰¹ Ciceo Pop, Head of the Rumanian delegation, was optimistic about the new Games and the role it could play in

the restoration and strengthening of regional trust and understanding. He pointed out that 'the Games are to be followed by various annual athletic and cultural events in each of the Balkan states.'¹⁰² Hassan Husni Bey, Head of the Turkish delegation, expressed his profound satisfaction at the fact that the first meeting of the national delegations from the Balkans coincided with the initiation of the Games. He added that 'the athletes set an example in good fellowship and unity through sport for all to follow in order to replace the rivalry and discord of the past.'¹⁰³ Finally, Alexander Papanastassiou, President of the Balkan Conference, said that 'the athletic meetings go side by side with the Balkan Conferences to achieve the much-desired Balkan Union.'¹⁰⁴ He stressed that 'all these who have contributed to the success of the athletic event have made every effort to ensure that prosperity and progress can be achieved only in peace, understanding and trust.'¹⁰⁵ He concluded 'you, the athletes, are the pioneers of the efforts at the achievement of the Balkan states' unity.'¹⁰⁶ The crowd reacted positively to the tone struck by the politicians. These pronouncements leave no room for doubt that sport and politics in the words of Balkan politicians were closely meshed, that sport and the Games in particular, was considered as a constructive instrument of political purpose, that optimistic political ambitions went hand in hand with optimistic ambitions for the Games.

The Turkish athletes, who were involved for the first time, were given a warm reception on the first day of the Games. The Rumanian, Bulgarian and Yugoslav athletes were also received with cordial applause. The reception provided by the spectators caused delight. Ioannes Ketseas, President of the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association, presented Nurhanedine Bey, head of the Turkish team, with a hand made memorial flag in the national colours of Greece and Turkey. The heads of the other Balkan sports delegations had been presented with a similar memorial flag in the 1929 trial 'Balkaniad'. Nurhanedine Bey did not hide the pleasant surprise he experienced at

the cordial manifestations of friendship and goodwill.¹⁰⁷ Deeply moved, he expressed his gratitude:

...We expected a friendly welcome but we did not anticipate such a cordial reception. I cannot find the proper words to express my deep gratitude for the superb, memorable hospitality you offered us. In a short time, ties of friendship have been established between us so that we feel no homesickness.¹⁰⁸

The Games were held from 5th to 12th of October and the athletes were involved in events including 100m, 200m, 400m, 800m, 1,500m, 5,000m and 10,000m race, marathon, 4x100m and 4x400m relay, 110m hurdle race, long jump, triple jump, high jump, pole-vault, discus and javelin throwing, shot put and hammer throwing. Greece won first place followed by Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Turkey.¹⁰⁹ The event was front-page news for several days and was characterised as a diplomatic source of good will and a political peaceful talisman in the Balkans:

...Last year thousands of spectators applauded the Balkan athletes irrespective of nationality. A year later, enthusiasm and the spirit of good will, which emerged from the Games, remained strong and unaffected. The meeting between Greek athletes and athletes from the other Balkan states generated an unexpected emotion. Cordial manifestations of friendship, warm handshakes, enthusiasm, spontaneity and a spirit of unity again prevailed. It is an impressive event with no stamp of nationalism or fanaticism. The Great War had put the Balkan states in rival campuses. Now the restoration of trust and contact between former foes is attempted through sport. This year, Turkey is involved in the Games and thus Greek and Turkish athletes meet for the first time in history. The world of politics should utilise sport in international diplomacy inasmuch as the sports meetings are capable of producing beneficial results in the diplomatic field.¹¹⁰

Superb organisation of the Games, exemplary entry into the stadium, the modern technical equipment and the manner in which the Games were staged, all demonstrated that sports and cultural traditions of Greece were upheld.¹¹¹ At the closing ceremony, the winners were awarded memorial medals and diplomas by George Papandreou, the Greek Minister of Education. At the end of the ceremony, athletes and spectators acclaimed the Games and peace. 'Hurrah for the Balkan peace', they shouted loudly.¹¹² In summary, the acclaim of the spectators, the official addresses by government representatives and diplomats and the comments from the

daily press, all revealed an intense desire to establish good relations in the Balkan Peninsula through sport. The Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association held a banquet in honour of the athletes and sports representatives on the last day of the Games. M. Rinopoulos, in his role as President of the Olympic Committee, presented the athletes with memorial medals, which depicted the 'Disco bolus' of Myron, in relief, and complemented them on representing their countries successfully. He mentioned that the Balkan sportsmen, who played a key role in the athletic meeting's success, set an example and paved the way for fresh cooperation among the peoples of the area in a spirit of goodwill and conciliation.¹¹³

The political leaders of the competing states responded positively to the new Games. Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, President of the Turkish Republic, offered the organisers of the Games his appreciative thanks for the cordial welcome to the Turkish athletes. He also declared himself hopeful that the newly established sports relationships among the Balkan states could prove beneficial to the restoration of hope and unity to the peoples' advantage:

... I thank the sports representatives of the Balkan states for the cordial reception they gave to the Turkish athletes and delegates. I greet the Balkan athletic young and express the wish that cooperation in the sporting field would be promoted and strengthened so that conciliation and unity in the Balkans by the means of sport may be consolidated producing beneficial results in the political domain.¹¹⁴

In his complimentary telegram, King Boris of Bulgaria expressed once again similar hopes and expectations. 'I thank the representatives of the competing states for their wishes on the occasion of the opening of the Balkan Games.'¹¹⁵ Venizelos requested that George Papandreou, the Greek Minister of Education, congratulate the organizers of the athletic meeting on the excellent organization of the Games on his behalf. A congratulatory message was sent to the President of the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association:

...The Prime Minister, who attended the Balkan Games on the first day, assigned me to give his compliments to you and the members of the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association's Council and to express his government's satisfaction at the superb organisation of the Games and the exemplary order in the stadium. The government feels happy for the increasing development of modern sport resulted from the close cooperation between the Ministry of Education and the Hellenic Sports Associations. We hope that the measures taken on sport will bear fruits. You are kindly requested to notify the Sports and Gymnastic Associations, which are under your own control, of the government's satisfaction.¹¹⁶

Yet again, the political undertones of the Games rose to the surface.

On the occasion of the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the National Regeneration in Tripolis, on 12 October 1930, the last day of the Games, Venizelos, in his political address to the audience, among other things, spoke about these ideals and principles that should inspire the young and focused yet again on the value of sport. Speaking about the future of the rising generation, the Prime Minister said:

...There are people, who wonder in which way the young can make their way in life successfully. Most of them believe that the acquisition of simply materialistic goods should be priority. The narrow pursuit of materialism is catastrophic and I express my anxiety about all those, who believe that there are no higher goals to be fulfilled in peacetime other than the acquisition of great wealth. I advise you, the young, to exercise on a regular footing in order to achieve self-discipline and assurance and to build a robust body. You can also defend the country against its enemies only with vigorous bodies, should the need arise. The old saying 'a sound mind in a sound body' should be kept in mind. A sound physical state and the acquisition of professional qualifications are priority. With these qualifications enter society and do not be interested in personal benefits only but struggle for the common good.¹¹⁷

In point of fact, Venizelos' concept of sport was similar to the ancient Greek ideal of the whole man with character, intellect and body in harmony. Venizelos seemed to agree with Pierre de Coubertin's ideas about the contribution of sport to the formation of character and the relationship between sport and ethics. To quote Coubertin:

...Physical exercise-if conceived and applied in a certain way- can help to forge characters, reburnish a community, and even, in democratic times, to provide a link between different social classes. It then...establishes itself at the centre of education...and becomes a main factor in general progress. Such it was in ancient Greece; such it nearly became in the Middle Ages; as such it has arisen again in the modern world.¹¹⁸ ...Use all necessary means to develop your physical abilities to use them for the common good -maintain those abilities by abstaining from anything that could debase them pointlessly...the word 'pointlessly' underscores the dependent

stance that the muscles must always keep with respect to thoughts and feeling, and with wide respect to social utility...sport is merely an indirect stimulus for ethics.¹¹⁹

Despite the enthusiastic support from major political figures and paradoxically in view of the political importance they proved to attach to the Games, their future was far from certain. The national delegates met on 9 October to discuss the future of the Games and the financial problems involved. In reality, serious misgivings and considerable doubts about the financial prospects of the Games nearly resulted in the cancellation of the Games. Fortunately, the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association offered to shoulder the expenses of the athletes' transport and residence in Athens for the next few years.¹²⁰ General consent was obtained for an increase in contests. Shooting and boxing were agreed for the 1931 Games while wrestling and cycling were to be included later.¹²¹

While the Games were in progress, the first Balkan Conference, a significant regional event, took place in Athens. As noted above, both Alexander Papanastassiou, President of the Conference, and the Balkan delegates attended the 1930 Games and publicly advocated sport as an additional means for the promotion of regional rapprochement and collaboration. The initiative in the organisation of the first Balkan Conference in October 1930 was taken by Alexander Papanastassiou, former Prime Minister and a man of vision, who believed that the differences between the Balkan nations might be settled by bold initiatives and fair resolutions.¹²² The twenty-seventh Universal Peace Congress, which was organised by the 'Bureau International de la Paix', took place in Athens early in October 1929. Papanastassiou, President of the Organizing Committee of the Congress, presented a detailed report on the prospects of a Balkan Pact and advocated the creation of a Balkan Union.¹²³ Nevertheless, on the occasion of the Greco-Turkish treaty in October 1930, Papanastassiou stated that 'controversy between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia as well as the interests of the Great

Powers in the region stand in the way of a Balkan Union.¹²⁴ The Universal Peace Congress appointed a Committee composed exclusively of Balkan representatives to inquire into the possibility of establishing a Balkan Federation. The Committee proposed annual Balkan Conferences in an attempt to establish and promote regional cooperation in the fields of politics, trade and education. The Bureau International de la Paix was entrusted to summon the First Balkan Conference.¹²⁵

The Conference was to be of an unofficial nature and its resolutions were not binding on the governments, which were represented simply by observers.¹²⁶ The six Balkan states were to send national delegations numbering not more than thirty members including representatives of the domains of politics, industry, trade, education and health. Moreover, leaders of peace movements, scholars and journalists could participate in the national delegation.¹²⁷ An Organising Committee was set up in Athens. The preliminary statutes of twenty-six articles was drafted in swiftly. By the first article it was made clear that the first Balkan Conference aspired to contribute to the restoration of collaboration among the Balkan nations with the ultimate end the creation of a Balkan Union. The second article included specific regulations and stipulated the instruments for rapprochement and cooperation in education, culture and trade. By the following articles a Plenary Assembly, a Council, a Secretariat of the Assembly and six standing Committees were ensured.¹²⁸ All those who supported the idea of the Balkan Conferences believed that the meetings could promote good will and understanding between warring nations. Furthermore, it was hoped that collaboration in the fields of trade, education and health might pave the way for agreement on more crucial and controversial questions.¹²⁹

However, skeptical spirit was particularly noticeable in Bulgaria. The Bulgarians appeared pessimistic about the outcome of the Conference. They primarily sought

discussions on the protection of the Bulgarian minority. Bulgarian support for the creation of a Balkan Federation was conditional on the outcome of the talks about the minority's question.¹³⁰ The intentions of the Bulgarian delegation caused general disquiet inasmuch as it had been unanimously agreed that there would be no discussions on controversial issues at the first Conference. Alexander Papanastassiou of the Hellenic delegation and President of the Organising Committee, made it clear that matters regarding the protection of minorities could be discussed, but questions relating to the implementation of minorities treaties had better be discussed.¹³¹ In late September 1930, Professor Kyrov, Head of the Bulgarian delegation, announced that the Bulgarians were not to participate in the Conference if the question of minorities was not on the agenda. A little later, however, he changed his mind. When the Conference opened on 5 October, the Bulgarian delegation was present.¹³²

The opening ceremony of the Conference took place at the Hall of the Greek Chamber of Deputies in the presence of national delegates, scientists and government observers from the six Balkan states. Alexander Papanastassiou, President of the Conference, addressed the audience and stressed the necessity of promoting trans-Balkan collaboration and peace.¹³³ Venizelos, who delivered a short speech, expressed the wish that the goals set by the Conference would be fulfilled to the peoples' advantage. He said that 'everybody recognises the difficulty of bringing the Balkan peoples together. This goal can be realised only by stages. Nonetheless, controversial questions can be settled if the Balkan representatives start the discussions with matters on which agreement can easily be reached.'¹³⁴ The old theatre of Delphi hosted the closing ceremony of the Conference on 13 October 1930. In a joint communiqué to the Balkan nations it was pointed out that 'the peoples of the region can see better days with the proviso that peaceful policies will be followed and the spirit of trust and unity will prevail.'¹³⁵ In the first Balkan Conference, a considerable number

of resolutions was made on non-political matters. For instance, the Committee on economic matters advocated the establishment of the Commercial Institute and agreed protection of the regional products in general and the tobacco in particular. Cooperation between national banks and the foundation of a Monetary Union were discussed and agreed.¹³⁶ More significantly, the Committee on education suggested that a Balkan Educational Institute should be established.¹³⁷ The lack of cooperation in educational matters was believed to have a negative impact on trans-national relations in the area. The exchange of visits between students and staff from Balkan universities and the stage of cultural events seemed to be a good start.¹³⁸ Furthermore, the Committee on communications agreed a draft convention, which provided for a Balkan Postal Union and proposed measures for the development of transports. The Committee on social matters examined national laws and decrees and recommended improvement in the labour legislation and initiation of deliberations between the working-class and the government for better conditions in work.¹³⁹

Inter-Balkan political collaboration was a thorny matter and its establishment could not easily be attained. Nevertheless, it was the first time that national representatives from the domains of politics, science, health, education and culture met and discussed ways for trans-Balkan rapprochement and the creation of the Balkan Union. The route to Balkan Union was long and arduous. There remained hopes, however, that the object could be accomplished in time through a spirit of goodwill and trust.¹⁴⁰ The Conference in Athens was not successful in settling outstanding political issues. The Balkan representatives, however, reached an agreement on trade exchanges.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, in April 1931, during the 'Balkan Week', travel agents met in Constantinople, bankers and manufacturers held a meeting in Thessaloniki and Athens and municipal delegates met in Tirana, Albania. In May 1931, a conference on agriculture was held in Sofia, a meeting on education took place in Bucharest while

representatives of feminist organisations met in Belgrade.¹⁴² The Conference has received brief attention because it travelled hand in hand with the Games the long path to create closer Balkan relationships. There was more to rapprochement than the Games and there was more to rapprochement than the Conference. They comprised a double act-the one supporting the other. This is apparent from the fact that the year 1931 saw the second Games in Athens and the second Balkan Conference in Constantinople. The 1931 athletic meeting will now be explored while the second Balkan Conference will be outlined to provide some useful information about the efforts at Balkan cooperation and regional peace in the year of the Games.

4.4 The 1931 Games and the second Balkan Conference

With Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Turkey involved, the second Balkan Games opened in Athens on 4 October 1931. More than 70,000 sports enthusiasts streamed into the Panathinaikon Stadium. The opening ceremony took place with all the now established solemnity. George Papandreou, the Greek Minister of Education, members of the Greek Parliament, Enis Bey, the Turkish Ambassador in Athens, Spyridon Polychroniades, the Greek Ambassador in Ankara, diplomats, the Mayor of Athens, army high-ranking officers and dignitaries from Greece and the Balkans all graced the event with their presence. Venizelos and Andreas Michalakopoulos, the Foreign Minister, were invited to give the event an official stamp. Importantly, Ismet Inonu, the Turkish Premier and Rusdhi Bey, his Foreign Minister, who were on an official visit to Athens returning Venizelos' visit to Ankara the previous year, accepted an invitation to attend the Games. The two Turkish guests were received with warm applause. After the athletes' parade, the oath was taken by a Greek athlete:

...The athletes involved in the Games will compete in full consciousness of their mission's importance; they will observe the rules of the competitions and will keep the values of sport unspoiled.¹⁴³

Then the band struck up the anthems of the Balkan states while Civil Aviation and Air Force planes flew over the Panathinaikon Stadium in a spectacular air demonstration. Ismet Inonu, who found himself for the first time in the ancient stadium of Athens, did not hide his feelings of pleasure at the friendly crowd reception.¹⁴⁴ Venizelos, who once again opened the Games, first addressed the Balkan athletes and praised them for their efforts to promote Balkan sport and regional friendship. The Greek Premier laid particular stress on the presence of the exalted Turkish guests, a fact that lent grace to the Games and demonstrated the beneficial outcome of the 1930 Greco-Turkish agreement.¹⁴⁵ Venizelos (on the right), Ismet Inonu, who raises his hat to the crowd (in the middle) and Tewfik Rusdhi Bey, who returns the crowd's greetings by nodding approval (on the left) may be seen in Figure 4.4.

FIGURE 4.4



VENIZELOS, ISMET INONU AND TEWFIK RUSDHI BEY AT THE PANATHINAIKON STADIUM AT THE 1931 GAMES.
(Eleftheron Vima, 5 October 1931)

The Games, 4th to 11th of October, included 100m, 200m, 400m, 800m, 1,500m, 5,000m and 10,000m race, marathon, 4x100m and 4x400m relay, 110m hurdle race, long jump, triple jump, high jump, pole-vault, discus, javelin and hammer throwing and shot put. Excellent performances were achieved on the first day of the Games. Athletes from Yugoslavia set Balkan records in the 4x100m relay and Bulgarian athletes broke the national record in the same event. A remarkable Balkan record in the pole vault was achieved by Christos Papanikolaou, a Greek athlete.¹⁴⁶ The athletes' performances were front-page news in newspapers of the time. More significantly, the Greek press hailed with enthusiasm the spirit of goodwill and friendship that prevailed in the stadium and laid stress on the fact that the spectators supported the athletes' endeavours with no manifestations of nationalism or racial discrimination. The *Eleftheron Vima* recorded that:

... All these who have recognised the Balkan Games as a means for the evolution of Balkan sport and as a positive step for the Balkan young's initiation into high ideals now can feel proud and be optimistic about the future. The spirit of fair play displayed by the athletes, the spectators' above reproach attitude towards official guests, sports delegates and competitors as well as the amicable atmosphere in which the Games were held, raise hopes for beneficial results in the fields of culture and politics.¹⁴⁷

While the *Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados* (Northern Greece Messenger) observed that:

...We can all be hopeful for the future of Balkan sport and trans-Balkan relationships. The Games took place in a friendly atmosphere with no manifestations of nationalism. The fact does raise hopes for promotion of Inter-Balkan cooperation.¹⁴⁸

A number of other newspapers including *Macedonia* and *Ephimeres ton Balkanion* (The Newspaper of the Balkans), said much the same.¹⁴⁹

There can be little doubt that such warm manifestations were indicative of a profound desire to promote the new Games, which hopefully might in turn increasingly promote regional collaboration in both political and non-political domains. By the last day of the Games, the Greek team had gained eleven gold medals and won again first

place. Yugoslavia with five gold medals came second followed by Rumania, Bulgaria and Turkey, which achieved its first gold medal.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, on the occasion of the 1931 Games in Athens, the Balkan sports editors met and discussed the establishment of the Balkan Association of Sports Editors. D. Boeresko from Rumania, Ivan Selvelief from Bulgaria, M. Koric and G. Predanic from Yugoslavia, Osman Bamuk from Turkey and S. Giannoulatos and G. Haniotes from Greece agreed the Founding Protocol of the Balkan Press Association.¹⁵¹ Clearly the Games had caught the attention of the Balkan press and had received its approval and appreciation. Throughout the Balkans the Games increasingly grew in popularity.

The Athens Balkan Games were not the only regional sporting event in 1931. The Sofia 'Balkaniad' took place a little earlier in the year (on 27 September) and was not a rival activity. It did not include track and field events but activities that were not included in the Balkan Games. There were swimming, cycling, fencing, riding, gymnastics, football matches, motorbike and motorcar races. Initially financial difficulties stood in the way of the Bulgarian 'Balkaniad'. The obstacles were finally overcome when the Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior and the Mayor of Sofia funded the organising committee thus ensuring the Games' success.¹⁵² In an effort to provide financial support in the 'Balkaniad' of Sofia, the Bulgarian government ceded to the organising committee the right of the exploitation of its forests, for a period, and the right to exclusive photographing of the event. The construction of a new stadium, the stadium 'Unak', the restoration of the stadium 'AK 23' and the cycling track, as well as the construction of a new motorcycle ground were all financed from the government budget, which had secured considerable revenues by the issue of stamps of five million leva value. Twenty five percent of the revenues were placed at the disposal of the Games' committee. The swimming competitions were held in a modern swimming pool that had been constructed by a private company.¹⁵³ The Balkan Sports Associations

were to set the date for the next 'Balkaniad' in Bulgaria and to agree the statutes of the competitions.¹⁵⁴

Thus, for some time before the opening of the 1931 Sofia 'Balkaniad', the future of the meeting appeared gloomy. There were other problems. For unknown reasons, Rumania refused to be involved although long deliberations between the Bulgarian and Rumanian Sports Associations had taken place earlier. In an attempt to secure the Rumanian involvement and the Games' success, the Bulgarian Sports Association sent representatives to the Bulgarian Embassy in Bucharest to discuss with the Bulgarian Ambassador a diplomatic intervention in the affairs of the Rumanian Sports Association. The effort was not successful. Bulgarian athletic circles argued that the Rumanian refusal probably resulted from the still tense relationships between the two states. This, however, was never officially confirmed by the Bulgarian government. On the other hand, the Bulgarian daily press alleged that the Sports Unions in Bucharest did not recognise Bulgaria's right to stage regional competitions before a general consent for them was obtained in advance.¹⁵⁵ Yugoslavia too was not amenable to involvement. In addition, the Yugoslav national football team required remuneration, while the swimming team cancelled involvement. Yugoslavia was to be represented only by some motorcyclists. In consequence, the competitions in Sofia seemed to be leading for failure. Under the pressure of such a possibility, the Organising Committee were ready to meet some of the Yugoslav demands. The Bulgarians gave the Yugoslavs positive assurance that traveling and accommodation expenses would be covered by the Bulgarian Sports Association and that the personal safety of the Yugoslav athletes would not be in danger. The difficult situation was retrieved.¹⁵⁶

On the occasion of the Sofia 'Balkaniad', the Bulgarian Ambassador in Yugoslavia gave an interview in the newspaper *Politika* of Belgrade. Among other things, he pointed out:

... Modern sport in Bulgaria grows at a slow pace. I express the wish that the regional athletic meetings would stimulate the young to an increasingly dynamic involvement in sports activities. The Balkan nations are also provided with the opportunity to open channels of communication and overcome isolation through sport, which is capable of restoring contact and creating bonds of friendship thus contributing to the accomplishment of the Balkan Union. Rivalry between the Balkan nations can and must end.¹⁵⁷

The competitions in Sofia were held with Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria and a small number of Yugoslav athletes finally involved. Greece was represented by teams of cyclists, swimmers, fencers and motorcyclists while the Turkish delegation included a football team, fencers and horsemen. The opening ceremony took place in the presence of diplomatic representatives of the region, the local authorities and an enthusiastic crowd. Profound thanks were extended by the Bulgarian government to the competing sports associations for their contribution to the competitions' realisation.¹⁵⁸

During the Sofia 'Balkaniad', Constantinos Dedrames, the Greek Ambassador in Sofia, gave a reception. The representative of King Boris, the Secretary General of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bulgarian politicians, former ministers, representatives of foreign embassies as well as the heads of the Balkan athletic teams were all invited. Speaking of the competitions in Sofia, Tsaprazikof, former adjutant of King Boris, former Ambassador of Bulgaria in Belgrade, honorary President of the Bulgarian Olympic Committee and politically powerful in Bulgaria, observed:

...Sport in Bulgaria grows in a slow pace. Organising the 'Balkaniad' in Sofia, we aspire to attract the Bulgarian citizens' interest in sport and to motivate them to be involved in the administration of the national sports associations. We express our profound thanks to Greece for its participation in the sports meeting with a large team of athletes, a fact that contributed to the organisation's success. The 'Balkaniad' of Sofia is a first step to the development of Bulgarian sport. It is our first serious attempt

to give an impulse to sport inasmuch as, apart from football and cycling, involvement in modern sports in Bulgaria is still poor. Government, the Municipality of Sofia and the army supported the endeavour. The organisation was not superb but moral benefits emerged from the competitions. Thousands of sports enthusiasts streamed into the stadiums and were initiated into the sporting spirit.¹⁵⁹

At the responses that followed, C. Dedrames, among others, said that 'the exchange of visits between athletes and businessmen from Greece and Bulgaria contribute to the improvement of Greek-Bulgarian relations and the promotion of cooperation between the two states.' 'The last time I was received in audience by King Boris, talking about the Balkan Games, the King expressed satisfaction for the Greek-Bulgarian collaboration in the field of sport', the Greek diplomat concluded.¹⁶⁰ Responding to Dedrames, G. Ivanof, the Bulgarian deputy, remarked that 'our athletes, who were involved in the 1930 Athens Games, returned to Bulgaria full of enthusiasm about the warm reception they received and the Greek hospitality. We are grateful.'¹⁶¹ Thus it is clear that at least one other Balkan state was attempting to foster improved diplomatic and political regional relationships through sport in the early 1930s. However, the Sofia 'Balkaniad' was of short duration-it took place only in 1931-and considerably less important than that held in Athens.

In appropriate proximity given their similarity of purpose, a few days after the closing ceremony of the 1931 Games in Athens, the second Balkan Conference opened in Constantinople (on 20 October 1931), under the presidency of Hassan Hunsî Bey, Vice-president of the Turkish National Assembly. The Conference was attended by delegates from six Balkan states at the Dolma Bachtche, the magnificent royal palace.¹⁶² Of the most important items on the agenda were those dealing with the draft of a Balkan Pact, the implementation of treaties, the protection of cereals and tobacco and the cooperation between national banks and health services. Moreover, free transit from country to country, the construction of a railway to link the Balkan states and the

draft of a common civil legislation were all matters to be discussed and promoted.¹⁶³ The Pact draft, designed by John Spyropoulos, Professor of International Law at the University of Thessaloniki, secured the pacific settlement of differences either by a conciliatory committee or the International Court and ensured in addition, cooperative support of any Balkan state that suffered attack.¹⁶⁴ With regard to the political matters, it was the Albanians and not the Bulgarians who demanded discussions about minorities. At the first meeting of the Committee on political matters on 20 October 1931, Yanko Sakazoff from Bulgaria simply focused on the difficulties the Bulgarian delegation confronted in its effort to convince public opinion in Bulgaria that the country would benefit from its participation in the Conferences.¹⁶⁵ Mehmet Bey Konitza, however, Head of the Albanian delegation, stated that his colleagues and he were deeply concerned about the future of the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia and that if the rights of minorities were not reconsidered, then the Conference could not reach an agreement on non-political matters. The Albanian representatives accused Yugoslavia of abusive treatment of the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia while the Yugoslavs simply retorted by taunting Albania with dependence on Italy.¹⁶⁶ An embarrassing situation was retrieved at the last moment.¹⁶⁷ Finally, it was suggested by the national delegations that talks on crucial national questions should begin and that the obligations resulted from minorities' treaties should be implemented.¹⁶⁸ This was done and a measure of harmony was restored to the Conference.

The closing ceremony took place on 26 October 1931. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk addressed the audience. The Turkish President said that 'as long as the Balkan countries seek regional cooperation through a political union and pay respect to self-determination of the contracting states, then there is no doubt that the civilised world will welcome the achievement with enthusiasm.'¹⁶⁹ The Balkan governments were interested in the resolutions of their national delegations, but they were circumspect

about their implementation. Despite difficulties, however, the Conference assisted peace in the area to a degree. Greece and Bulgaria were expected to enter into fresh negotiations for the war debts. Yugoslavia and Bulgaria attempted to settle the question of expropriated properties. Relations between Greece and Turkey were friendly, a fact that influenced Balkan affairs positively. Turkey was amenable to the restoration of relations with Albania, an initiative that was regarded as a positive outcome of the Balkan Conferences.¹⁷⁰ Although the outcome of the Second Conference was not positive, the Conference, however, had carried discussions a step forward.¹⁷¹ Greater progress was made in non-political matters. The agreement on a Postal Union opened up a new era in communications. The foundation of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry was also of great significance. Furthermore, the Agricultural Chamber and an associated Organisation supported and promoted the trade of tobacco and cereals while the creation of a Department of Balkan History based in Thessaloniki it was believed would establish links between the academic staff of the regional universities.¹⁷²

4.5 The Games in 1932 and the third Balkan Conference

While the Balkan Conferences ensured slow but sure progress towards more amicable relations between the Balkan states in 1931, its partner in the process, the Balkan Games celebrated its third birthday in 1932. The third Balkan Games opened at the Panathinaikon Stadium in Athens on 9 October 1932.¹⁷³ Due to political instability, which now again returned to Greece, the Games had no financial government support. Venizelos lost the elections on 25 September 1932 and his defeat resulted in fiscal problems.¹⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association was committed to stage the Games and kept its word. Five countries, Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Turkey were involved. Once again Greek ministers, diplomatic

representatives and many Balkan sports representatives attended the event.¹⁷⁵ M. Rinopoulos, President of the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association, addressed the audience and then opened the Games with an expression of a now familiar excitement:

...On behalf of the Greek world of sport, I welcome the Balkan athletes and the heads of the athletic delegations. We believe that the Balkan Games, which once again Greece has the honour to stage, improve the Balkan performances, foster the sporting spirit and facilitate understanding between the Balkan peoples. With feelings of deep emotion and gratification, I open the Games.¹⁷⁶

On the occasion of the Rumanian athletes' departure for Athens, Ciceo Pop, President of the Rumanian Parliament, made a similar statement on the Games and its positive political role in trans-Balkan relations:

...The Balkan Games is a sporting meeting of great importance. They not only open up new optimistic horizons for Balkan sport but they also promote trans-Balkan cooperation and good fellowship.¹⁷⁷

N. Tilea, Undersecretary of the Rumanian Prime Minister's Political Office, also stated:

...Involvement in sport does not only contribute to body's perfection but it also offers all these involved the opportunity of establishing contact and good relations. Athletes of five Balkan states represent their country in a peaceful endeavour. Every year, the Balkan young carry the message of peace and friendship to the Panathinaikon Stadium.¹⁷⁸

The Greek press once again focused on the role of the Games in trans-Balkan rapprochement and collaboration:

...The Games are the forerunner of the Balkan Union. They brought athletes from five states together in a spirit of good will and cooperation, which is strengthened more and more from year to year. Thus, the Games become a strong link between the Balkan peoples.¹⁷⁹

On 10 October 1932 the Balkan sports delegates in Athens held a meeting with Alexander Papanastassiou, former Premier of Greece and President of the 1930 Balkan Conference, and discussed with him matters touching on the promotion of cooperation in the areas of sport and culture. At the meeting, Papanastassiou promised support for sport in general and the Games in particular and stated that 'sport can be an effective instrument in the restoration of understanding and the promotion of peace

in the Balkans.¹⁸⁰ And again, on behalf of the Balkan sports representatives, who attended the fourth session on sport in Athens,¹⁸¹ greetings telegrams were sent by the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association to King Carol of Rumania, Kings Boris and Alexander of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia respectively, Mustafa Kemal of Turkey and to Alexander Zaimis, President of the Hellenic Republic:

...The hope for conciliation and peace in the Balkan Peninsula is still alive. We believe that sport can contribute to the achievement of such a goal. We express the wish that the friendly ties that the Games have established would be strengthened.¹⁸²

In short, the diplomatic and political purpose of the Games remained firmly to the fore. The Balkan Games, from the statements and actions of influential political figures, were intended to be far more than a recreational activity.

The same events as previously were once more included at the 1932 Games, which lasted from 9th to 16th of October. The athletes were involved in 100m, 200m, 400m, 800m, 1,500m, 5,000m and 10,000m race, marathon, 4x100m and 4x400m relay, 110m hurdle race, long jump, triple jump, high jump, pole-vault, discus, javelin and hammer throwing, shot put as well as in 4x100m, 4x200m, 4x400m and 4x800m Balkan relay. Greece yet again achieved the highest number of points followed by Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Turkey.¹⁸³ One more action of the success of the Games in stimulating regional interaction in sport was the fact that they were now imitated in one form or another throughout the Balkans. For example, the Balkan Motorcycle Championship with Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece involved, was inaugurated in Sofia in late October 1932.¹⁸⁴ Then, in November 1932, Constantinople played host to the first regional Wrestling Championship. The meeting was well organised and the warm hospitality athletes, delegates and journalists enjoyed made an excellent impression. Kemal Ataturk complemented the Turkish wrestlers on their achievements and assured them that the competitions were to

receive government financial support. Kemal's support and promises boosted the morale of the organising committee, which immediately notified Greece that if it was not in a position to stage the 1933 wrestling competitions, Turkey would stage them with good grace.¹⁸⁵ As in the case of Turkey above, the Balkan Games had a further beneficial impact throughout the region; they won the support of state governments and motivated them to take measures to develop sport in general in their respective countries.

Once again, a few days after the closing ceremony of the Games, the third Balkan Conference opened in Bucharest at the Hall of the Chamber of Deputies on 22 October 1932.¹⁸⁶ The Balkan Pact was of the most significant items on the agenda. Professor John Spyropoulos from the University of Thessaloniki and Reshid Bey from Turkey stated that the Pact, in an attempt to settle national disputes, ensured a Committee of Conciliation. At the meeting on political matters, however, Professor Trifonov from Bulgaria suggested that, before a consideration of the Pact, previous resolutions should be implemented. The Bulgarian delegation proposed postponement of discussions so that some progress could be made in the question of minorities. The proposal was rejected and Trifonov announced withdrawal of the Bulgarian delegation.¹⁸⁷ After the first shock, the Committee started its work. The Pact draft came under discussion. By the terms of the Pact, the Balkan Union would follow the principles of the League of Nations, the Geneva Protocol of 1924 and the 1925 'Locarno' agreement. Each of the contracting parties agreed to commit no attack on a Balkan country. Continuous issues would be referred to the Permanent Committee of Conciliation and Juridical Settlement exclusively composed of selected Balkan representatives. Concerted action was to be taken by the contracting states in the event that a state outside the Balkans attacked a Balkan state.¹⁸⁸

Furthermore, a Committee on Minorities was to be created composed of six members, one from each of the contracting countries. The Committee would inquiry into minorities' complaints and any petition for the implementation of the treaties would be submitted to the Committee. It was further stipulated that the minorities should abide by the laws of the country in which they lived and that they should abstain from any aggressive action against it. The Pact draft was finally agreed.¹⁸⁹ The final meeting of the Committee on Political Matters on 27 October 1932 was unofficially attended by the Bulgarian representatives, who once again insisted on their position. Nonetheless, the representatives expressed the hope that Bulgaria would eventually agree on the Pact.¹⁹⁰ Despite Bulgarian intransigence and the withdrawal of the Bulgarian delegation from the Conference, the third Balkan Conference had its successes. The Pact draft was finally agreed, the Convention draft on the rights of the Balkan citizens was approved and the foundations for regional collaboration in the areas of health, education, culture, communications and transport were laid.¹⁹¹

Thus to all extents and purposes, and in no way minimising the problem of achieving continuous good relations between the Balkan nations, the Games and the Conferences were both moving forward in their respective but linked endeavour to bring a new cordiality to the Balkan region. They were parallel developments of close chronological association but they had the same goal: to restore trust and to establish unity and collaboration in the area. Figure 4.5 lists the date, location and number of states represented in the Balkan Games and Conferences from 1929 to 1933. The Conferences expired in 1933 and will be outlined in chapter 5 side by side with the 1933 Games.

FIGURE 4.5

BALKAN GAMES			BALKAN CONFERENCES		
Date	Location	No. of states represented	Date	Location	No. of states represented
22-29 Sept. 1929	Athens, Greece	4			
5-12 Oct. 1930	Athens, Greece	5	5-13 Oct. 1930	Athens, Greece	6
4-11 Oct. 1931	Athens, Greece	5	20-26 Oct. 1931	Constantinople, Turkey	6
9-11 Oct. 1932	Athens, Greece	5	22-27 Oct. 1932	Bucharest, Romania	6
1-8 Oct. 1933	Athens, Greece	6	4-11 Nov. 1933	Thessaloniki, Greece	6

BALKAN GAMES AND BALKAN CONFERENCES FROM 1929 TO 1933.

Conclusion

In the history of the Balkan region, the 'trial' Balkan Games of 1929 were a milestone. They were not a political panacea. They could not be in the troubled setting of Balkan history. But they were a genuine and sincere attempt through sport, and in conjunction with the side by side Balkan Conferences, to improve both political and diplomatic relations between the Balkan governments and peoples. They did play their part in both aspiration and realisation. In the Stadium in Athens in 1929, for the first time, the flags of Balkan states streamed in the wind side by side symbols of hope. The Games and the warm reception given to athletes, sports delegates and government representatives of all the participating states all demonstrated a profound desire for conciliation and collaboration and indicated that there was a desire for political change in trans-Balkan relations. And change did take place, if partial and not total. Moderate views and conciliatory policies gained ground in the 1930s and to an extent replaced the intransigence and controversy of the past.

The Founding Protocol of the Games agreed in Athens in September 1929 was the result of considerable well-intended effort. Under the Protocol's terms, as noted above, the Games were to begin officially in 1930 and to be held, in turn, in the capital of the competing states. Nevertheless, due to the financial difficulties of the Balkan Sports Associations, Greece agreed to host the Games from 1929 to 1933. In fact, Greece was the national driving force behind the successful implementation of the Games and the political rationale for this cannot be disputed. The Venizelos' government gave its powerful and prolonged blessing to the event in 1929 and subsequently in 1930, 1931 and 1932. It clearly recognised the positive role sport might be able to play in the improvement and promotion of inter-Balkan relations. The Games increasingly motivated initially the Greek government to take measures for modern sport's growth. Fresh horizons opened up for sport at first in Greece and later elsewhere. In 1932, the last year of his premiership, Venizelos, reviewing the domestic policy of his government, referred continually to the value of sport. Despite economic problems, his government provided financial support to sport in general and the Games.¹⁹²

It should not be overlooked that the inauguration of the Games in 1930 coincided with the first Balkan Conference. Games and Conferences had a common goal: to establish collaboration and unity in the Balkans. Addressing the audience at the Rumanian 'Institut Social' in Bucharest in October 1931, Alexander Papanastassiou of the Greek delegation and former Prime Minister, made the role of the Conferences very clear. Papanastassiou stressed that the national delegations to the Conferences consisted of politicians, scholars, leaders of peace movements and journalists-the great and good who influenced policy. Although the Conference resolutions were not binding on the governments, the Conferences had an influence inasmuch as the governments approved the initiatives of their national delegates.¹⁹³ A year later, in

Bucharest, in October 1932, at the opening ceremony of the third Balkan Conference, Papanastassiou went further. He remarked that the Conference was, in essence, an organisation, which attempted to promote good relations in the region. For this reason, the six scientific Committees appointed by the Conferences, were entrusted to seek cooperation in the areas of trade, education, culture, health and transport, and, if possible, to settle outstanding political issues.¹⁹⁴

Despite disagreements, the Balkan Conferences did credit to those, who were supporters of the Balkan Pact and trans-Balkan collaboration and were keen to make every effort to improve relations between the Balkan nations. The Balkan Pact outlawed war and arranged for peaceful settlement of disputes; an agreement was reached on the rights of the Balkan citizens; and finally free transit from country to country, trade exchanges and improvement in social security and welfare conditions were to be secured.¹⁹⁵ In short, the Balkan Games and the Conferences attempted to improve hand in hand trans-Balkan collaboration. Both brought wary nations together. The Games were the first to bring wary nations together. With regard specifically to the Games, Greeks, Turks, Bulgarians, Rumanians and Yugoslavs, after what appeared to be an interminable period of antipathy and dissension, met and expressed a desire for unity and peace. Greeks and Turks, deadly enemies for centuries, had their first peaceful meeting of the century through sport. The statement of the Turkish athletes that 'the warm reception we had at the Panathinaikon Stadium in 1930 offered us the thrill of a lifetime', suggested that sport could thaw the political ice between the peoples.¹⁹⁶ The later Games from 1933 to 1935 will now be considered in conjunction with a further consideration of the political background of this later period in which these later Games took place.

Footnotes

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- ¹ The Games took place in the face of financial difficulties and social and political upheavals resulting from the 1922 exchange of population between Greece and Turkey. This explains their perceived importance. The 1920s was the decade during which Greek society was subjected to the influx of an enormous mass of refugees, a tragic event that followed the initial triumph of the Greek army's invasion of Asia Minor. See Vakalopoulos, Apostolos, Nea Helliniki Historia ;1204-1985 (Modern Greek History :1204-1985), op. cit., pp. 371-372.
- ² "Peninta Chronia Prin (Fifty Years Ago)", in Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association(ed), Peninta Chronia Balkanikon Agonon (Fifty Years of Balkan Games), op. cit., p. 5.
- ³ Ibid., p. 5.
- ⁴ Proceedings of the Olympic Games Committee, File No 6 (from 22 May 1921 until 15 October 1923), 3rd Session, 29 March 1922, p. 16.
- ⁵ Linardos, Petros, "Taxidi ste Genesse kai stes Rizes tou Thesmou ton Balkanikon Agonon 1924-1928 (A Trip to the Birth and Roots of the Institution of the Balkan Games)", Athlese kai Koinonia (Exercise & Society), no 23, 1999, p. 20.
- ⁶ Manitates, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlismou: 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism: 1830-1930), op. cit., p. 442.
- ⁷ Ibid., pp. 458-461.
- ⁸ Karabates, Dimitrios, "He Hellas es tin IX Olympiada (Greece at the IX Olympics)", Athletismos (Athleticism), no 5, August 1927, pp. 2-3.
- ⁹ Manitates, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlismou: 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism: 1830-1930), op. cit., pp. 570, 589. The Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association, the so-called SEGAS, was founded in 1897.
- ¹⁰ Proceedings of the Olympic Games Committee 1924-1933, 38th Session, 29 October 1928, p. 207.
- ¹¹ Makrides, Pavlos, "Balkanikoi Agones (The Balkan Games)", in Megali Egyclopaedia tou Athlismou (The Big Encyclopedia of Athleticism), Athens: T. Drakopoulou, 1961, p. 303; Manitates, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlismou:1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism:1830-1930), op. cit., p. 591.
- ¹² Manitates, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlismou: 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism: 1830-1930), op. cit., pp. 304, 570, 589.
- ¹³ Makrides, Pavlos, "Balkanikoi Agones (The Balkan Games)", in Megali Egyclopaedia tou Athlismou (The Big Encyclopedia of Athleticism), op. cit., pp. 303-304.
- ¹⁴ Manitates, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlismou: 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism: 1830-1930), op. cit., pp. 570-592.
- ¹⁵ See Chapter One, pp. 43-44.

¹⁶ "Greece, Yugoslavia and Salonica: Negotiations between Greece and Yugoslavia over Facilities at the Port of Salonica", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1928, op. cit., pp. 184-185.

¹⁷ FO371/13654/Loraine to Chamberlain, 19 January 1929; A.V., File 51, Discussions with Mussolini on 23 September 1928, Venizelos' Memorandum.

¹⁸ Philippe Berthelot, General Secretary of the 'Quai d'Orsay', had provided useful information about the prevalent views on pending issues and his effort paved the way for bilateral talks. See AV, File 51, Discussions in Paris, 26, 28, 29 September and 3 October 1928, Venizelos' Memorandum. That the discussions proved initially successful had several reasons. The signing of the Greco-Italian treaty in September 1928, the fact that the Yugoslav traders sought the settlement of issues touching on the transport of goods to Yugoslavia via Thessaloniki and the pressure put by European countries on Yugoslavia to be conciliatory, were the most important reasons. See "Greece, Yugoslavia and Salonica: Negotiations between Greece and Yugoslavia over Facilities at the Port of Salonica", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1928, op. cit., p. 186.

¹⁹ AFM, A/3/1928, Polychroniades to Karapanos, Belgrade, 19 September 1928. Regrettably, the situation increasingly deteriorated. Spyridon Polychroniades, the Greek Ambassador in Belgrade, in his report to the Greek government, mentioned that violent conflict and the hostility resulted from the Croatian and Slovenian demand for secession from the Serbian kingdom. In addition, Ahmet Zoghu's self-nomination as King Zog of Albania was regarded as a further Italian provocation. In these adverse circumstances, there were justifiable fears that Venizelos would face serious difficulties in Belgrade. See A.F.M., A/3/1928, Polychroniades to Karapanos, Belgrade, 30 September 1928; Chapter 1, pp. 30-31.

²⁰ FO371/12920/Sargent to Chamberlain, London, 5 October 1928.

²¹ Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 57-59. Yugoslavia demanded that the ships, which reached the Free Zone at the port of Thessaloniki, be exempted from harbour dues and medical checks. It also demanded that the Yugoslav monks on Mount Athos retained the Yugoslav citizenship.

²² Psomiades, J. Harry, "The Diplomacy of Eleftherios Venizelos (1928-1930)", in Laourda, Louisa (ed), Meletimata ste Mnimi Basileiou Laourda (Essays in Memory of Basil Laourdas), op. cit., p. 559; Miller, William, "Greece and her Neighbours", Foreign Affairs, op. cit., p. 489. The first protocol stipulated that the Free Zone should be utilized for trade purposes only, that, as it was an integral part of the Greek territory, the Yugoslav flag should not be hoisted there, and that the total number of the officials employed should not exceed a hundred. By the second protocol it was stipulated that, whenever the railway from Gevgeli, Yugoslavia to Thessaloniki, Greece was disputed, the issue should be referred to arbitration. See "Agreement between Greece and the Kingdom of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia on the Railway Thessaloniki-Gevgeli, Geneva, 3 March 1929", Law 4450, 16 December 1929, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 437, pp. 413-419; Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), vol. 2, op. cit., p. 60. Thessaloniki mattered a great deal both to Yugoslavia and the states that constituted the 'Little Entente'. See Chapter One, pp.

31-32. That was evident, for example, in the talks on bilateral agreement, between Edward Benes, the Czech Foreign Minister, and Constantine Psaroudas, the Greek Ambassador in Prague. The Czech Ambassador admitted that Thessaloniki was of great importance to the states of Central Europe and emphasized that the Greek government should promote the trade exchanges by providing the port of the city with the necessary facilities. See AV, File 51, Psaroudas to Karapanos, Prague, 29 November 1928.

²³ AFM, A/3/22b/1929, Polychroniades to Karapanos, Belgrade, 12 February 1929. Initially, Greece was particularly circumspect. The Greek Foreign Minister, discussing with Sir Percy Loraine, made clear that the government of Athens, in an effort to display goodwill, did not intend to modify decisions taken before the abolition of the Yugoslav constitution. See FO371/13654/Loraine to Chamberlain, Athens, 19 January 1929.

²⁴ "Agreement of Amity, Conciliation and Juridical Arbitration between Greece and the Kingdom of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Belgrade, 27 March 1929", Law 4146, 11 November 1929, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 172, pp. 225-230; Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between two Wars 1923-1940), vol. 2, op. cit., p. 61; Armstrong, Hamilton-Fish, "Venizelos again Supreme in Greece", Foreign Affairs, October, 1929, pp. 124-125.

²⁵ "The Balkan Conference (October 1930)", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1930, op. cit., 1931, pp. 148-149.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 149.

²⁷ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 16 April 1929.

²⁸ Eleftheron Vima, 18 April 1929.

²⁹ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 16 April 1929.

³⁰ Eleftheron Vima, 18 May 1929.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Sport (Sofia), 28 August 1929.

³³ Eleftheron Vima, 20 September 1929.

³⁴ Macedonia, 19 November 1931; 27 November 1931.

³⁵ Macedonia, 5 November 1932; 13 November 1933.

³⁶ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 30 August 1934.

³⁷ Eleftheron Vima, 11 September 1937.

³⁸ Slovo (Sofia), 9 September 1937.

³⁹ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 4 May 1929.

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- ⁴⁰ Eleftheron Vima, 18 May 1929.
- ⁴¹ Eleftheron Vima, 3 September 1929.
- ⁴² Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 8 March 1929.
- ⁴³ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 22 September 1929; Ephimeres ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 22 September 1929.
- ⁴⁴ Macedonika Nea (Macedonian News), 23 September 1929.
- ⁴⁵ Eleftheron Vima, 21 September 1929; Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 22 September 1929.
- ⁴⁶ Macedonika Nea (Macedonian News), 23 September 1929.
- ⁴⁷ Macedonika Nea (Macedonian News), 23 September 1929; Makrides, Pavlos, "Balkanikoi Agones (The Balkan Games), in Megali Egyclopaedia tou Athletismou (The Big Encyclopedia of Athleticism), op. cit., p. 303.
- ⁴⁸ Maniakes, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athletismou: 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism: 1830-1930), op. cit., p. 620.
- ⁴⁹ Ephimeres ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 22 September 1929.
- ⁵⁰ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 27 September 1929.
- ⁵¹ Ephimeres ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 24 September 1929; Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 27 September 1929.
- ⁵² Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 30 September 1929.
- ⁵³ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 27 September 1929; Maniakes, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlitismou 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism 1830-1930), op. cit., p. 626.
- ⁵⁴ Ephimeres ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 24 September 1929.
- ⁵⁵ Milliyet, 23 September 1929.
- ⁵⁶ Ephimeres ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 23 September 1929.
- ⁵⁷ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 27 September 1929.
- ⁵⁸ Eleftheron Vima, 24 September 1929; Makrides, Pavlos, "Balkanikoi Agones (The Balkan Games)", in Megali Egyclopaedia tou Athletismou (The Big Encyclopedia of Athleticism), op. cit., p. 303; Maniakes, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlitismou 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism 1830-1930), op. cit., p. 627.

⁵⁹ Eleftheron Vima, 24 September 1929; "To Balkaniko Synedrio (The Balkan Congress)", Peninta Chronia Balkanikon Agonon (Fifty Years of Balkan Games), op. cit., p. 32.

⁶⁰ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 27 September 1929.

⁶¹ "To Ydritikon Protokolo (The Founding Protocol)", Peninta Chronia Balkanikon Agonon (Fifty Years of Balkan Games), op. cit., p. 32; Maniakes, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlismou 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism 1830-1930), op. cit., p. 627.

⁶² "To Ydritikon Protokolo (The Founding Protocol)", Peninta Chronia Balkanikon Agonon (Fifty Years of Balkan Games), op. cit., p. 32; Maniakes, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlismou 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism 1830-1930), op. cit., p. 627. In 1962, Pavlos Maniakes, sports historian and keen advocate of the Balkan Games concluded that the Games were established in a period that the national differences between the Balkan states had eased off, to some extent, and the peoples of the region were amenable to show good will and establish cooperation. The idea of the Balkan Games' creation also resulted from the poor performances of the Balkan athletes at international level. For this reason, the Balkan sports representatives sought the way to offer the Balkan athletes the opportunity to compete with each other on equal terms. He was in doubt that in part regional political ambitions and aspirations played a part in the foundation of the Games. See Maniakes, Pavlos, 100 Chronia Neoellinikou Athlismou 1830-1930 (A Hundred Years of Modern Greek Athleticism 1830-1930), op. cit., p. 626.

⁶³ Ephimeres ton Balkanon (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 24 September 1929; Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 27 September 1929.

⁶⁴ Eleftheron Vima, 3 October 1929.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 11 October 1929.

⁶⁷ The Balkan Conferences took place from 1930 until 1933 and are briefly discussed.

⁶⁸ To Phos, 23 July 1928. In the same month, in an interview published in the Turkish newspaper 'Milliyet', Venizelos declared his intention to open talks with Turkey with the view of reaching an agreement. See Ta Kimena tou Eleftheriou Venizelou 1909-1936 (Eleftherios Venizelos' Texts), Commentary by Stefanou, Stefanos, 4 vols, Athens: Club of the Liberals, 1981-1984, vol. 3, 1920-1929: In Memory of Eleftherios Venizelos, 1983, p. 459. The commentator was Venizelos' secretary.

⁶⁹ Anastassiadou, Iphigenia, "O Venizelos kai to Hellinoturkiko Symphono Phillas tou 1930 (Venizelos and the 1930 Greek-Turkish Treaty of Amity), In Dimitrakopoulos, Odysseus and Veremis Thanos (eds), Meletimata gyro apo ton Venizelo kai ten Epochi tou (Studies about Venizelos and his Time), Athens: Strates G. Philippotes, 1980, pp. 314-315; Kitsikis, Dimitrios, Historia tou Hellinoturkikou Chorou, 1928-1973 (History of the Greek-Turkish Area, 1928-1973), Athens: Estia, 1981, p. 23.

⁷⁰ AAE, Europe (1918-1929): Greece, 79/143, Clement-Simon to Briend, Athens, 28 May 1928.

⁷¹ FO371/13654/Loraine to Chamberlain, Athens, 19 January 1929.

⁷² AFM, B/68/1928-1929, Karapanos to Pappas, Athens, 3 November 1928. In a message sent to the Greek Ambassador in Ankara by Alexander Karapanos, the Foreign Minister, it was pointed out that the renunciation of territorial claims by both sides and the safeguard of the rights of the Greek population in Constantinople were prerequisites for the settlement of the friction and for a treaty of amity and arbitration.

⁷³ Anastassiadou, Iphigenia, "O Venizelos kai to Hellinotourkiko Symphono Philiatou tou 1930 (Venizelos and the 1930 Greek-Turkish Treaty of Amity), in Dimitrakopoulos Odysseus and Veremis Thanos (eds), Meletimata gyro apo ton Venizelo kai ten Epochi tou (Studies about Venizelos and his Time), op. cit., p. 317.

⁷⁴ AV, File 57, Polychroniadis to Michalakopoulos, Ankara, 2 March 1930; A.V., File 57, Polychroniadis to Venizelos, Ankara, 3 June 1930.

⁷⁵ FO371/14575/Ramsey to Henderson, Athens, 26 March 1930; Psomiades, Harry J., "The Diplomacy of Eleftherios Venizelos 1928-1930", in Laourda, Louisa (ed), Meletimata ste Mnimi Basileiou Laourda (Essays in Memory of Basil Laourdas), op. cit., p. 564.

⁷⁶ AFM, B/68/1928-1929, Venizelos, Memorandum on Greek-Turkish Relations, Athens, 12 July 1929.

⁷⁷ Armstrong, Hamilton Fish, "Venizelos again Supreme in Greece", Foreign Affairs, op. cit., p. 128; Karamanlis, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exoterikes mas Schesses, 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), op. cit., p. 81. However, fresh negotiations were initiated in August 1929. Some time earlier, Venizelos had set off on a journey round the European capitals. He firstly visited Rome. In his discussions with Mussolini about the Greco-Turkish negotiations, he described them as stagnant and stated that Greece did not intend to appeal to the League of Nations. Venizelos suggested that the outstanding issues should be referred for arbitration either to the president of the Swiss Federation or the Court of Hague. See AFM, A/10/1/1929, Kapsales to Michalakopoulos, Rome, 31 July 1929.

⁷⁸ FO371/15237/Ramsay, Annual Report on Greece of the Year 1930, Para., 159.

⁷⁹ Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 62-63.

⁸⁰ AV, File 57, Polychroniades to Michalakopoulos, Ankara, 30 April 1930.

⁸¹ "South-Eastern Europe: The Greco-Turkish Settlement of 1930", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1930, op. cit., 1931, p. 160. About the text of the Greek-Turkish Convention of June 10th 1930, See "Text of Greco-Turkish Convention, June 10, 1930", in Wheeler-Bennett, John (ed), Documents on International Affairs 1930, op. cit., 1931, pp. 110-118.

⁸² Alexandris, Alexis, The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations 1918-1974, op. cit., p. 177. The Convention of 10th of June provided that properties left behind in Greece, outside the limits of Western Thrace, by non-returnable Muslim emigrants or by Muslims established in Western Thrace, should pass into the full ownership of the Greek government and that, vice versa, properties left behind in Turkey, outside the limits of Constantinople, by non-returnable Christians emigrants or by Christians established in Constantinople, should pass into the full ownership of the Turkish government. See "South-Eastern Europe: The Greco-Turkish Settlement of 1930", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1930, op. cit., 1931, pp. 161-162. With regard to the 'established' who, under the convention of the exchange of populations, were exempted from compulsory exchange in virtue of being 'established' in Constantinople and in Western Thrace respectively, it was provided that Turkish subjects of Orthodox religion who were living at the time of the convention in Constantinople as well as Greek subjects of Muslim religion who were living in Western Thrace, should be regarded as 'established' whatever might be the date of their arrival in the area or whatever might be the place of their birth. Moreover, the new convention also recognized as 'established' non-exchangeable persons who left Constantinople on passport emanating from the authorities of the Turkish Republic or those who left Western Thrace on passports emanating from the authorities of the Greek Republic. See "South-Eastern Europe: The Greco-Turkish Settlement of 1930", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1930, op. cit., 1931, p. 162. In consequence, the property of the exchangeable populations was transferred without compensation to the Greek and Turkish governments respectively and each party undertook to compensate its own refugees. Only properties seized in Constantinople and Western Thrace were to be restored to the lawful owners within two months. See FO371/15237/ Ramsay, Annual Report on Greece of the Year 1930, Para., 165. On the point of finance, the Greek government undertook to put at the disposal of the Mixed Committee a sum of 425,000-pound sterling, of which 150,000 was to be allocated to indemnifying Christian subjects recognized as 'established' in Constantinople, for loss of property situated outside the city of Constantinople and therefore forfeit, under the new convention, to the Turkish government. A sum of 150,000-pound sterling was to be allocated to indemnifying Muslim subjects for loss of property situated in Greece and forfeit to the government of Athens and for properties situated in Western Thrace. These properties had been expropriated by the Greek government and had been recognized in the new Convention as having become Greek property. The remaining sum of 125,000-pound sterling was to be paid over in installments to the Turkish government. Both the Greek and the Turkish governments were to quit further financial demands on account of the acquisition of properties, which, under the Convention, were to pass respectively into their possession. See "South-Eastern Europe: The Greco-Turkish Settlement of 1930", in Toynbee, Arnold J. (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1930, op. cit., 1931, p. 162; Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), vol. 2, op. cit., p. 64.

⁸³ FO371/14576/Ramsey to Henderson, Athens, 18 June 1930.

⁸⁴ Le Messenger d'Athènes, 24 July 1930.

⁸⁵ Le Messenger d'Athènes, 27 June 1930.

⁸⁶ FO371/14391/Sir G. Clerk (Ankara) to Mr. A. Henderson, 9 December 1930; "The Greco-Turkish Treaty of Amity, Neutrality, Conciliation and Arbitration and the Protocol of the Restriction of Naval Armament, Ankara, 30 October 1930", Law 4917, 15 April

1931, Official Gazette, Vol. 1, no 96, pp. 655-666; "South-Eastern Europe: The Greco-Turkish Settlement of 1930", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1930, op. cit., 1931, p. 165.

⁸⁷ Ta Kimena tou Eleftheriou Venizelou 1909-1936 (Eleftherios Venizelos' Texts), vol. 4 1930-1936, 1984, op. cit., p. 127.

⁸⁸ Delta, Penelope, Eleftherios K. Venizelos, Prologue by P.A. Zannas, Athens: Ermes, 1997, pp. 170-178.

⁸⁹ "South-Eastern Europe: The Second Balkan Conference", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1931, op. cit., 1932, p. 327. The warm reception the Turkish politicians received in Athens by the Greek people had a positive impact on the discussions on outstanding issues. With regard to questions resulted from the exchange of populations, the implementation of the Convention of June 1930 proceeded satisfactorily. In March 1931, the status of 35,000 out of 100,000 Greeks of Constantinople who were not exchangeable had been confirmed and the Ecumenical Patriarch received his certificate of non-exchangeability in the late September 1931. See Macedonia, 5 October 1931; "South-Eastern Europe: The Second Balkan Conference", in Toynbee, J. Arnold. (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1931, op. cit., 1932, p. 327; Alexandris, Alexis, The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations 1918-1974, op. cit., p. 180.

⁹⁰ "South-Eastern Europe: The Second Balkan Conference", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1931, op. cit., 1932, pp. 327-328. In August 1931, three hundred Greeks from Crete visited Constantinople and were received cordially by the Cretan Muslims who were living in Turkey. See Miller, William, "The Greco-Turkish Friendship", Contemporary Review, no 140, 1931, pp. 718-719. Given the long and deep enmity between Muslims and Christians in Crete, in the late nineteenth-early twentieth century, something of the beneficial results of the Greco-Turkish rapprochement was evident. See Alexandris, Alexis, The Greek Minority of Istanbul and Greek-Turkish Relations 1918-1974, op. cit., p. 180. More significantly, Turkey seemed to be ready to act as mediator in the attempt to the settlement of differences between Greece and Bulgaria. Venizelos responded positively to the Turkish involvement and was amenable to the waiving of financial claims on Bulgaria except those that had already been referred to the League of Nations. See Karamanlis, Kostas, Eleftherios Venizelos kai oi Exoterikes mas Schesses, 1928-1932 (Eleftherios Venizelos and our Foreign Relations, 1928-1932), op. cit., pp.137-138.

⁹¹ "South-Eastern Europe: The Second Balkan Conference", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1931, op. cit., 1932, p. 329.

⁹² Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 5 October 1930; Ephemeris ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 6 October 1930.

⁹³ Vakalopoulos, Apostolos, Nea Helliniki Historia 1204-1985 (Modern Greek History 1204-1985), op. cit., p. 408.

⁹⁴ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 5 October 1930; Ephemeris ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 6 October 1930; Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 6 October 1930; "Les Jeux Panbalkaniques", in Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale (ed), Iere

Conference Balkanique. Documents Officiels, Athens : Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale, 1931, p. 404 ; Spanoudi, Mile, 'Les Premiers Jeux Balkaniques', Les Balkans, 12 vols, Athens: FLAMMA, 1930-1940, vol. I, no 2, November 1930, p. 28. The journal under the name Les Balkans was the official survey of the Balkan Conferences. It was issued in Athens under the patronage of the Conferences' Secretariat.

⁹⁵ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 5 October 1930; Ephemeris ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 6 October 1930; Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 6 October 1930.

⁹⁶ Eleftheron Vima, 6 October 1930.

⁹⁷ Archives of the International Olympic Academy, Case No 55, File 1, Document 181.

⁹⁸ Archives of the International Olympic Academy, Case No 55, File 1, Document 181.2.

⁹⁹ Eleftheron Vima, 6 October 1930.

¹⁰⁰ Eleftheron Vima, 6 October 1930.

¹⁰¹ Kodometros, Nikos, "Oi Protoi Balkanikoi Agones (The First Balkan Games)", Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 6 October 1930, p. 1.

¹⁰² Kodometros, Nikos, "Oi Protoi Balkanikoi Agones (The First Balkan Games)", Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 6 October 1930, p. 1. "Les Jeux Panbalkaniques", in Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale (ed), 1ere Conference Balkanique. Documents Officiels, op. cit., p. 405. It is not true that the Games were initiated under the patronage of the First Balkan Conference and that they were funded by the Conferences' Secretariat. Theodore Geshkoff wrote incorrectly that the Balkan Sports Associations constituted an Athletic Federation, the so-called Balkaniad or Little Olympia. See Geshkoff, Theodore, Balkan Union. A Road to Peace in Southeastern Europe, op. cit., pp. 167-168.

¹⁰³ "Les Jeux Panbalkaniques", in Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale (ed), 1ere Conference Balkanique. Documents Officiels, op. cit., pp. 405-406.

¹⁰⁴ Eleftheron Vima, 6 October 1930.

¹⁰⁵ Eleftheron Vima, 6 October 1930.

¹⁰⁶ Eleftheron Vima, 6 October 1930.

¹⁰⁷ "The Balkan Conference (October 1930)", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1930, op. cit., 1931, p. 156; "En l'Honneur des Athletes Balkaniques", in Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale (ed), 1ere Conference Balkanique. Documents Officiels, op. cit., p. 407.

¹⁰⁸ Eleftheron Vima, 10 October 1930.

- ¹⁰⁹ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 11 October 1930.
- ¹¹⁰ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 6 October 1930; Ephimeres ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 6 October 1930; Eleftheron Vima, 6 October 1930.
- ¹¹¹ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 15 October 1930.
- ¹¹² Kodometros, Nikos, "Aponomi Metallion (Medals' Conferment)", Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 13 October 1930, p. 3; Ephimeres ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 11 October 1930; Spanoudi, Mile, 'Les Premiers Jeux Balkaniques', Les Balkans, vol. 1, no 2, November 1930, p. 28.
- ¹¹² Ephimeres ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 11 October 1930.
- ¹¹³ "En l'Honneur des Athletes Balkaniques", in Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale (ed), 1ere Conference Balkanique. Documents Officiels, op. cit., p. 407.
- ¹¹⁴ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 10 October 1930; "Kemal Pacha a la Jeunesse Balkanique", in Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale (ed), 1ere Conference Balkanique. Documents Officiels, op. cit., p. 406.
- ¹¹⁵ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 11 October 1930.
- ¹¹⁶ Eleftheron Vima, 11 October 1930.
- ¹¹⁷ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 13 October 1930; Venizelou, Eleftheriou, Politikai Ypothikai (Political Precepts), Commentary from Stefanou, Stefanos, 2 vols, vol. 1, Athens: n.n., 1969, p. 379.
- ¹¹⁸ Pierre de Coubertin, "Olympic Letter VIII: The Formation of Character", in Muller, Norbert (ed), Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937: Olympism-Selected Writings, op. cit., p. 221.
- ¹¹⁹ Pierre de Coubertin, "Sports and Ethics", in Muller, Norbert (ed), Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937: Olympism-Selected Writings, op. cit., pp. 168-169.
- ¹²⁰ Kodometros, Nikos, "To Balkanikon Synedrion (The Balkan Congress)", Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 10 October 1930, p. 3.
- ¹²¹ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 17 October 1930.
- ¹²² Svolopoulos, Constantinos, "O Alexandros Papanastassiou kai e Diabalkaniki Synennoesse (Alexander Papanastassiou and the Trans-Balkan Understanding)", in Anastasiades, G., Kondogiorges, G. and Petrides, P. (eds), Alexandros Papanastassiou: Thesmol, Ideologia kai Politiki ston Messopolemo (Alexander P. Papanastassiou: Institutions, Ideology and Politics in the Interwar Years), op. cit., pp. 337-338.

¹²³ Papanastassiou, Alexander, Vers l'Union Balkanique. Les Conferences Balkaniques, 1930-1933, Paris: Publications de la Conciliation Internationale, Centre Europeen de Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale, 1934, p. 11.

¹²⁴ Papanastassiou, Alexander, "Les Accords Greco-Turcs et l'Union Balqanique", Les Balkans, vol. 1, no. 3, December, 1930, op. cit., pp. 1- 4.

¹²⁵ "La Premiere Conference Balkanique", Les Balkans, vol. 1, no 2, November, 1930, pp. 1-7; "The Balkan Conference (October 1930)", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1930, op. cit., 1931, p. 150; Geshkoff, Theodore, Balkan Union, A Road to Peace in Southeastern Europe, New York: Morningside Heights, 1940, pp. 79-81.

¹²⁶ Papanastassiou Alexander, "L' Union Balkanique", Les Balkans, vol. 1, no 1, October, 1930, pp. 2-3 ; Geshkoff, Theodore, Balkan Union, A Road to Peace in Southeastern Europe, op. cit., p. 82.

¹²⁷ "The Balkan Conference (October 1930)", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1930, op. cit., 1931, p. 150; "La Premiere Conference Balkanique", Les Balkans, vol. 1, no. 2, November, 1930, op. cit., pp. 1-17; Maccas, Leon, "Le Rapprochement Politique des Pays Balkaniques", Les Balkans, vol. 1, no 1, October 1930, pp. 4-9.

¹²⁸ "La Premiere Conference Balkanique", Les Balkans, vol. 1, no. 2, November, 1930, op. cit., pp. 1-17; Maccas, Leon, "Le Rapprochement Politique des Pays Balkaniques", Les Balkans, vol. 1, no 1, October 1930, pp. 4-9.

¹²⁹ "The Balkan Conference (October 1930)", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1930, op. cit., 1931, p. 151.

¹³⁰ Padelford, J. Norman, Peace in the Balkans. The Movement towards International Organisation in the Balkans, New York: Oxford University Press, 1935, p. 14.

¹³¹ "The Balkan Conference (October 1930)", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1930, op. cit., 1931, p. 152. Six scientific Committees were created to examine political, economic, educational and social matters. Given the common desire for the settlement of national disputes and the implementation of treaties, the Conference suggested that the foreign ministers should meet annually to discuss outstanding matters. It was also agreed that the talks about the Balkan Pact should start without delay. See Papanastassiou, Alexander, Vers l'Union Balkanique. Les Conferences Balkaniques, 1930-1933, op. cit., pp. 64-79.

¹³² Kerner, Robert-Joseph and Howard, Harry-Nicholas, The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente 1930-1935. A Study in the Recent History of the Balkan and Near Eastern Peoples, Berkley, California: University of California Press, 1936, p. 30.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 63.

¹³⁴ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 6 October 1930; "The Balkan Conference (October 1930)", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1930, op. cit., 1931, p. 155.

- ¹³⁵ Kerner, Robert-Joseph and Howard, Harry-Nicholas, The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente 1930-1935. A Study in the Recent History of the Balkan and Near Eastern Peoples, op. cit., p. 40. Of the six scientific Committees appointed by the Conference, this on political matters inquired into questions, which gave scope for strong disagreement. Despite difficulties, however, the Committee ended its works. It was unanimously agreed that the Foreign Ministers should meet in each of the Balkan capitals, in sequence, to examine Balkan affairs and to promote the settlement of political questions. See "The Balkan Conference (October 1930)", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1930, op. cit., 1931, pp. 153-154. It was also suggested that a special Committee should be established to discuss the Balkan Pact and to inquire into the obstacles that stood in the way of the détente. Before they depart, the delegates agreed the statutes of the new organisation, the 'Balkan Conferences'. See "The Balkan Conference (October 1930)", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1930, op. cit., 1931, p. 154.
- ¹³⁶ "The Balkan Conference (October 1930)", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1930, op. cit., 1931, p. 155.
- ¹³⁷ Papanastassiou, Alexander, Vers l'Union Balkanique. Les Conferences Balkaniques, 1930-1933, op. cit., p. 42.
- ¹³⁸ Kerner, Robert-Joseph and Howard, Harry-Nicholas, The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente 1930-1935. A Study in the Recent History of the Balkan and Near Eastern Peoples, op. cit., pp. 37-38; Padelford, J. Norman, Peace in the Balkans. The Movement Towards International Organization in the Balkans, op. cit., p. 20.
- ¹³⁹ "The Balkan Conference (October 1930)", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1930, op. cit., 1931, pp. 155-156.
- ¹⁴⁰ "The Balkan Conference (October 1930)", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1930, op. cit., 1931, pp. 140-141.
- ¹⁴¹ "The Second Balkan Conference", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1931, op. cit., 1932, p. 332.
- ¹⁴² Papanastassiou, Alexander, Vers l'Union Balkanique. Les Conferences Balkaniques, 1930-1933, op. cit., p. 99.
- ¹⁴³ Eleftheron Vima, 5 October 1931.
- ¹⁴⁴ Eleftheron Vima, 5 October 1931.
- ¹⁴⁵ Macedonia, 5 October 1931.
- ¹⁴⁶ Eleftheron Vima, 6 October 1931.
- ¹⁴⁷ Eleftheron Vima, 5 October 1931; Eleftheron Vima, 6 October 1931.
- ¹⁴⁸ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 6 October 1931.
- ¹⁴⁹ Macedonia, 6 October 1931; Ephimeres ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 7 October 1931.

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- ¹⁵⁰ Eleftheron Vima, 12 October 1931; Macedonia, 12 October 1931.
- ¹⁵¹ Eleftheron Vima, 16 October 1931.
- ¹⁵² Macedonia, 6 September 1931.
- ¹⁵³ Eleftheron Vima, 30 October 1931; Tsirones, Michael, "Ta Grammatossema ton Balkanikon Agonon (The Stamps of the Balkan Games)", Athlese kai Koinonia (Exercise and Society), op. cit., p. 62.
- ¹⁵⁴ Macedonia, 10 October 1931; Eleftheron Vima, 1 October 1931.
- ¹⁵⁵ Eleftheron Vima, 1 October 1931.
- ¹⁵⁶ Macedonia, 27 September 1931.
- ¹⁵⁷ Politika, 9 October 1931.
- ¹⁵⁸ Eleftheron Vima, 30 October 1931.
- ¹⁵⁹ Eleftheron Vima, 30 October 1931.
- ¹⁶⁰ Eleftheron Vima, 30 October 1931.
- ¹⁶¹ Eleftheron Vima, 30 October 1931.
- ¹⁶² "La IIe Conference Balkanique", Les Balkans, vol. 2, nos 13-14, November-December 1931, op. cit., pp. 72-73; Macedonia, 20 October 1931. Six scientific Committees were again formed to discuss political, economic, educational and social matters. See Kerner, Robert-Joseph and Howard, Harry-Nicholas, The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente 1930-1935. A Study in the Recent History of the Balkan and Near Eastern Peoples, op. cit., pp. 50-51.
- ¹⁶³ Padelford, J. Norman, Peace in the Balkans. The Movement Towards International Organization in the Balkans, op. cit., p. 29.
- ¹⁶⁴ Papanastassiou, Alexander, Vers l'Union Balkanique. Les Conferences Balkaniques, 1930-1933, op. cit., p. 102.
- ¹⁶⁵ "La IIe Conference Balkanique", Les Balkans, vol. 2, nos 13-14, November-December 1931, op. cit., pp. 75-78; 'Memoire sur les Conditions de Rapprochement Politique entre les nations Balkaniques', Les Balkans, vol. 1, no 12, September, 1931, pp. 79-80.
- ¹⁶⁶ "The Second Balkan Conference", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1931, op. cit., 1932, pp. 336-337.
- ¹⁶⁷ "La IIe Conference Balkanique ", Les Balkans, vol. 2, nos. 13-14, November-December 1931, op. cit., pp. 79-83. Alexander Papanastassiou, Head of the Greek delegation, said that Greece was amenable to talks about a Balkan Pact and Stefan Ciceo Pop from Rumania stressed the necessity of setting controversies aside. Unity and harmony were priority. Professor Yonnitch from Yugoslavia suggested that the

Conference should give priority to discussions on cultural, educational and economic matters. See "La Ile Conference Balkanique ", Les Balkans, vol. 2, nos. 13-14, November-December 1931, op. cit., pp. 79-83.

¹⁶⁸ "The Second Balkan Conference", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1931, op. cit., 1932, pp. 337-338.

¹⁶⁹ "La Ile Conference Balkanique", Les Balkans, vol. 2, no 13-14, November-December 1931, op. cit., pp. 1-5.

¹⁷⁰ Kemer, Robert-Joseph and Howard, Harry-Nicholas, The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente 1930-1935. A Study in the Recent History of the Balkan and Near Eastern Peoples, op. cit., pp. 68-72.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 62-63.

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 63.

¹⁷³ Macedonia, 9 October 1932; Eleftheron Vima, 10 October 1932.

¹⁷⁴ Svoronos, Nikos, Episkopissi tes Neoellinikes Historias (Survey of Modern Greek History), op. cit., p. 128.

¹⁷⁵ Macedonia, 9 October 1932; Eleftheron Vima, 10 October 1932.

¹⁷⁶ Macedonia, 9 October 1932.

¹⁷⁷ Eleftheron Vima, 6 October 1932.

¹⁷⁸ Eleftheron Vima, 6 October 1932.

¹⁷⁹ Macedonia, 9 October 1932; Eleftheron Vima, 7 October 1932.

¹⁸⁰ Eleftheron Vima, 11 October 1932.

¹⁸¹ Eleftheron Vima, 14 October 1932.

¹⁸² Eleftheron Vima, 15 October 1932. The curtain of the third Balkan Games went down on 17 October 1932. In the closing ceremony, the British Admiral and his officers of the British flagship, which was anchored at Piraeus, were officially invited to the Games as a token of gratitude to the British naval officers, who had voluntarily come to the aid of the earthquake victims at Halkidiki in 1932. The British officers entered the Stadium with the navy band leading the parade and amidst enthusiastic acclamations. When the official guests took their seat at the tier of the official guests, the organizing committee gave the sign for a minute's silence in memory of Ioannes Chryssafes, Director of the Physical Education Department, who died on 13 October 1932. See Eleftheron Vima, 17 October 1932.

¹⁸³ Eleftheron Vima, 17 October 1932.

¹⁸⁴ Macedonia, 19 October 1932.

¹⁸⁵ Macedonia, 10 November 1932.

¹⁸⁶ Papanastassiou, Alexander, "La Troisieme Conference Balkanique", Les Balkans, vol. 3, no 1-2, October-November 1932, pp. 3-9.

¹⁸⁷ Kerner, Robert-Joseph and Howard, Harry-Nicholas, The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente 1930-1935. A Study in the Recent History of the Balkan and Near Eastern Peoples, op. cit., pp. 74-75.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 84-85.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., pp. 86-87.

¹⁹⁰ "La Troisieme Conference Balkanique", Les Balkans, vol. 3, nos 1-2, October-November 1932, pp. 170-238.

¹⁹¹ Kerner, Robert-Joseph and Howard, Harry-Nicholas, The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente 1930-1935. A Study in the Recent History of the Balkan and Near Eastern Peoples, op. cit., p. 90.

¹⁹² Venizelou, Eleftheriou, To Ergo tes Kyvernisseos Venizelou kata ten Tetraetia 1928-1932 (The Work of the Venizelos' Government from 1928 until 1932), Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2000, pp. 306-307.

¹⁹³ Papanastassiou, Alexander, Vers l'Union Balkanique. Les Conferences Balkaniques, 1930-1933, op. cit., pp. 46-47.

¹⁹⁴ "La Troisieme Conference Balkanique", Les Balkans, vol. 3, nos 1-2, October-November 1932, pp. 71-98.

¹⁹⁵ Kerner, Robert-Joseph and Howard, Harry-Nicholas, The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente 1930-1935. A Study in the Recent History of the Balkan and Near Eastern Peoples, op. cit., p. 159. The Balkan Chamber of Agriculture, which opened in Constantinople in 1931 and the Tobacco Office that was founded in 1933 were the positive outcome of the Conferences. A great number of the Conferences' resolutions remained a dead letter. Nevertheless, some of them were implemented. For instance, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, which stated its activities in December 1932. See Kerner, Robert-Joseph and Howard, Harry-Nicholas, The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente 1930-1935. A Study in the Recent History of the Balkan and Near Eastern Peoples, op. cit., p. 159. The Tourism Federation was created in 1931 and intended to promote trade exchanges and tourism in the region. Moreover, there was agreement on the creation of a Postal Union in 1931. Greece and Turkey acceded to the Union in 1932. See Pipinelis, Panagiotis, Historia tes Exoterikis Politikis tes Hellados 1923-1941 (History of the Greek Foreign Policy 1923-1941), op. cit., pp. 134-135.

¹⁹⁶ Eleftheron Vima, 11 October 1930.

CHAPTER 5

SPORT, POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE BALKANS: THE BALKAN GAMES FROM 1933 TO 1935

5.1 The Games of 1933. The political scene in the Balkans and the fourth Balkan Conference

Chapter five discusses the Games from 1933 until 1935 and outlines trans-Balkan relations and the attempts made to promote trans-Balkan cooperation in the same period of time. In the 1930s, the Balkan states made considerable efforts to strengthen their relationships and to give an impulse to regional collaboration in an attempt to secure their national border. Hitler's accession to power in 1933 and Mussolini's attempt at treaty's revision constituted a serious threat to peace in Europe. From 1933 onwards many of the European states realised that only by close collaboration among peace-loving peoples might a new general conflagration be averted.¹ Taking alarm at the early portents of the oncoming crisis, the Balkan governments mobilised to preserve stability and peace in the region through political agreements. It was also hoped that the Balkan Pact, which was under discussion from the early 1930s, might be an instrument of defence against the subversive activities of the totalitarian political systems and the threat of a new war. Amidst serious juxtapositions, misgivings and reservations, the Balkan Pact was finally agreed in 1934 among Greece, Turkey, Rumania and Yugoslavia. A meritorious attempt to bring the

Balkan states together through bilateral and multilateral agreements in conjunction with regional conferences and cultural events was made. However, despite good intentions, the Balkans could not remain unaffected by the developments in Europe particularly by the increasing influence of the Axis Powers in central Europe. In this complex political scene and amidst general disquiet and short-lived political alliances, the Games became a link among the Balkan states and a source of goodwill and collaboration in the area.

The crash of 1929 and the British departure from the gold standard in 1931 had an adverse impact on the economy of the Balkans. The export of products was suspended. The great gap between the prices of the agricultural and industrial products reduced the peasants to poverty and despair. The Depression ended the postwar recovery. By 1932-1933 a great number of peasants were on the verge of bankruptcy, unable to meet the tax payments and loan repayments. Moreover, the failure of the parliamentary regimes to meet social demands left open the door to other ideological influences. The alteration in the balance of powers gave impetus to forces that sought to undermine the existing territorial, political and social regime. Fascism offered an alternative.² Greece marched into the 1930s with Venizelos at the head of the government until 1932. His successful domestic policy achieved the reduction for a time of the impact of the world economic slump on the Greek economy. From 1932 onwards, however, the Greek people became increasingly disaffected to the Venizelos government and the Royalist Party increasingly gained in popularity. In September 1932, the parliamentary elections resulted in deadlock.³ They ushered in a period of instability and polarisation that led to the end of parliamentary democracy four years later. The Liberal Party retained only a slight lead over the People's Party. Finally, a new government under Panagis Tsaldares was formed, which lasted until early 1933. Venizelos returned to office for a while in an effort to ease the political situation by a

change in the electoral system and the introduction of the majority system. At the elections of March 1933, however, the Populists secured the majority of one hundred and thirty-five deputies over the Venizelists' ninety-six. Tsaldares became Prime Minister again.⁴

In the same time, the accession of Hitler to power (in January 1933) motivated the Balkan governments to seek the means of preserving national security. In the face of the oncoming German threat, the states of Central and Southeastern Europe could not but prepare themselves for resistance. The states of the 'Little Entente', which were to be the first to confront the German threat, led the way. On 16 February 1933, France, Yugoslavia and Rumania agreed a diplomatic league, which paved the way for a close political cooperation. The three contracting sides agreed to adopt a joint foreign policy. Meetings among the national representatives were to be arranged by the Permanent Secretariat while the Council of the Foreign Ministers was to meet periodically. In the meantime, in the Balkan Peninsula, Greece and Turkey decided to strengthen their relationship. On the occasion of the Conference on Finances in London in 1933, Rusdhi Aras and Dimitrios Maximos, the Turkish and Greek Foreign Ministers respectively, met to discuss Greece's accession to the Pact that had been agreed between Turkey and the 'Little Entente' in July 1933 and which stipulated the preconditions under which one state would be considered aggressor by the other.⁵ Rusdhi Aras also proposed a Greco-Turkish Pact of Pledge with the proviso that Yugoslavia and Bulgaria could accede to it. Bulgaria's agreement, however, was not attainable at that moment. Nonetheless, Ismet Inonu, the Turkish Premier and Rusdhi Aras visited Sofia in late September 1933 and discussed with the Bulgarian leader Bulgaria's accession to the Greco-Turkish Pact. Bulgaria did not come round, but it proposed the renewal of the 1929 Bulgarian-Turkish Pact of neutrality and the formation of a mixed committee to see to outstanding issues.⁶

In the meantime, positive developments in Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations encouraged King Alexander of Yugoslavia to start a tour of the Balkan capitals in autumn 1933 and to discuss with the Balkan leaders the ways for further cooperation in the Balkans and the prospects for the Balkan Pact. Having already overcome misgivings, Alexander first met his former foe, King Boris of Bulgaria. Although the discussions took place in a warm atmosphere, it was clear that Bulgaria's accession to the 'Balkan Entente' was not to be easily attained. In Constantinople, where Alexander met Kemal Ataturk, the talks were successful. The Turkish leader, alarmed at the developments in Europe, was amenable to a close collaboration between the Balkan states. In Corfu, Alexander discussed with Dimitrios Maximos, the Greek Foreign Minister all the matters that had come under discussion during his tour. It was believed that Bulgaria's accession to the Balkan Pact would contribute to the consolidation of peace in the region.⁷

In this context, Nicolae Titulescu, the Rumanian Foreign Minister, visited Ankara and Athens in late October 1933 and proposed a pact of pledge only between Greece, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Turkey. He met with Turkish reserve. Nonetheless, Titulescu's visit to Ankara was successful in other ways. A treaty of amity and non-aggression was agreed between Turkey and Rumania. In Athens, the Rumanian minister proposed agreement on the Balkan Pact only by four out of six Balkan states. The Greek side, however, was circumspect about an immediate response prior to the settlement of outstanding financial issues with Bulgaria.⁸ Trans-Balkan relations seemed to cool. However, there had been a change for the better in Yugoslav-Bulgarian relationships in September 1933 when King Boris of Bulgaria decided that it was a suitable time to meet King Alexander. King Boris and Queen Joanna, who had been on a tour of London, Paris, Rome and Geneva, made a short stop at the Belgrade station, on their way back to Bulgaria, where a meeting with the King and Queen of

Yugoslavia was arranged. It was the first meeting between the two royal families since the Great War. There were also talks between the prime ministers of the two countries about a commercial treaty and the simplification of the frontier check procedure. A commercial convention between the two sides was agreed on 24 May 1934.⁹

Despite some improvement in Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations, the Yugoslav side was not amenable to any concessions to Bulgarian claims for minority rights in Yugoslav Macedonia. Yugoslavia permitted, however, the free transit of the Bulgarians who were living on either side of the Yugoslav-Bulgarian border. It was well understood that, in spite of good intentions, the regional treaties of pledge were not capable of confronting a possible German or Italian attack on the Balkans.¹⁰ At this very moment, the effort to bring unity in the Balkan Peninsula coincided with the movement for security in Europe. The rise of Hitler, the withdrawal of both Japan and Germany from the League of Nations and the failure of the disarmament Conference in Geneva all motivated the European and Balkan states to seek unity through political agreements.¹¹ The Balkan Pact of 1934 (it will be discussed in brief later) was the starting point and soon there were proposals for a Baltic Pact, an Eastern European 'Locarno' and a Mediterranean agreement. France came closer to Russia and to Italy through political alliances, which, in essence, safeguarded the French interests.¹² Finally, Albania's relations with its Balkan neighbours were to some extent improved. Its relations with Italy, however, were marked by general discontent in the first half of the 1930s, with Italian domination of the country. As Albania was in arrears with payment of loans from Italy, the Italians stated that they would not support Albania economically, when the issue came under discussion, unless a customs union was agreed.¹³ The condition was rejected. Italy suspended the payment of the installments of an interest-free loan, which had been arranged in 1931. Albania, in response, modified the Constitution in April 1933, banning the issue of foreign newspapers and outlawing non-Albanian schools.

Greek and Italian schools were affected by the measures, which became a matter of dispute between Albania and Greece. Strangely, the estrangement between Albania and Italy resulted in the rapprochement between Albania and Yugoslavia. An Albanian-Yugoslav trade treaty was agreed on 20 December 1933 and discussions took place for the opening of a Yugoslav bank in Tirana.¹⁴ Meanwhile and a few days prior to the 1933 Games in Athens, a fresh Pact between Greece and Turkey was concluded. The Pact aspired to strengthen relations between the two states and to secure their common border. In September 1933, a Greek delegation headed by Panages Tsaldares, the Greek Prime Minister, went to Constantinople to ratify the Pact, which was officially signed on 14 September 1933.¹⁵

Thus, with the Balkan states sometimes in pursuit of collaboration and conciliation and sometimes in a state of suspicion and disagreement, the fourth Balkan Games opened on 1 October 1933 with the involvement of Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Turkey and Albania. The 1933 Games saw the first Albanian involvement. Together with the 'Pre-Balkaniad' of 1929, it was the fifth contest to be staged in Athens. The fall of the Venizelos' government in 1932 resulted in political instability and social unrest. In consequence, there was no government support for the event, which was eventually financed by the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association.¹⁶ As agreed, Greece covered travelling and accommodation expenses of the Balkan teams, an onerous burden for the Sports Association. Despite difficulties, the organising committee made every effort to offer well organised competitions. The Panathinaikon Stadium was swarmed by 50,000 spectators who received athletes, official guests and sports representatives with warm manifestations.¹⁷ After the athletes' parade and the oath, the President of the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association, M. Rinopoulos, welcomed the Balkan delegations and hailed the first

Albanian participation with enthusiasm. With an expression of satisfaction, he stressed that Greece kept its promise and staged the Games for five successive years:

...The 1933 Games, with the Albanian participation, now can be characterised as Pan-Balkan. For the first time, six Balkan states are involved in a spirit of fair play and good will. This year, the Games are not financed by the government and their organisation reflects credit upon the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association.¹⁸

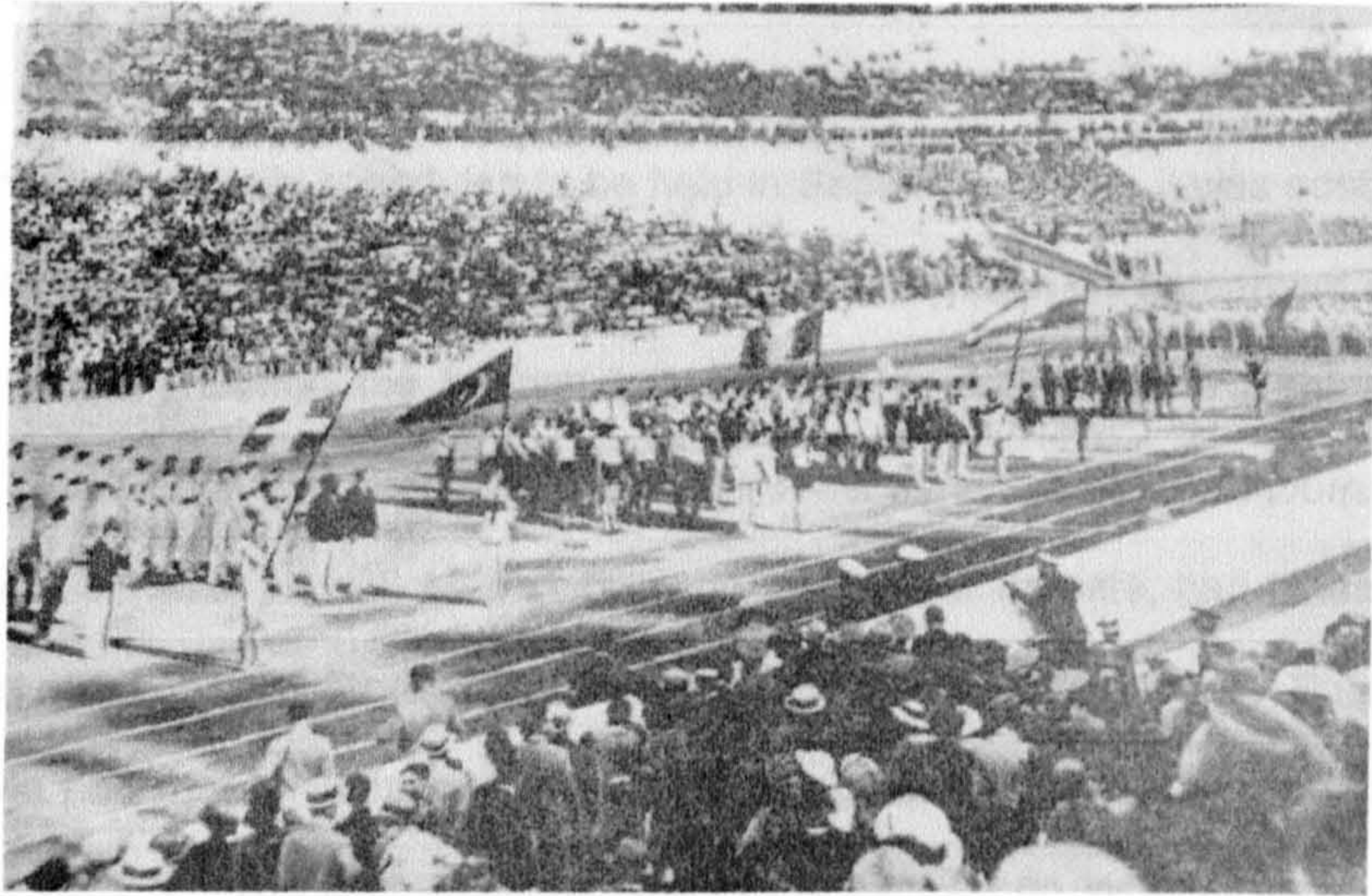
Enthusiasm and a desire for the continuity of the Games with 'Pan-Balkan' participation were evident. The Greek Minister of Education, Tourkovasiles who represented the Greek government, following Rinopoulos in the official addresses, reviewed the regional athletic event and once again pointed out the political role of the Games:

... We have come together today to celebrate the fourth Balkan Games and to send a message of friendship and goodwill through sport. The Games open channels of communication between the Balkan peoples and provide hope for cooperation in the political field.¹⁹

In short, the diplomatic and political purposes of the Games were firmly to the fore. Again sport and politics in the words of politicians were closely meshed and the Games in particular were considered as a useful means for political purpose. Optimistic political ambitions went hand in hand with optimistic aspirations for the Games.

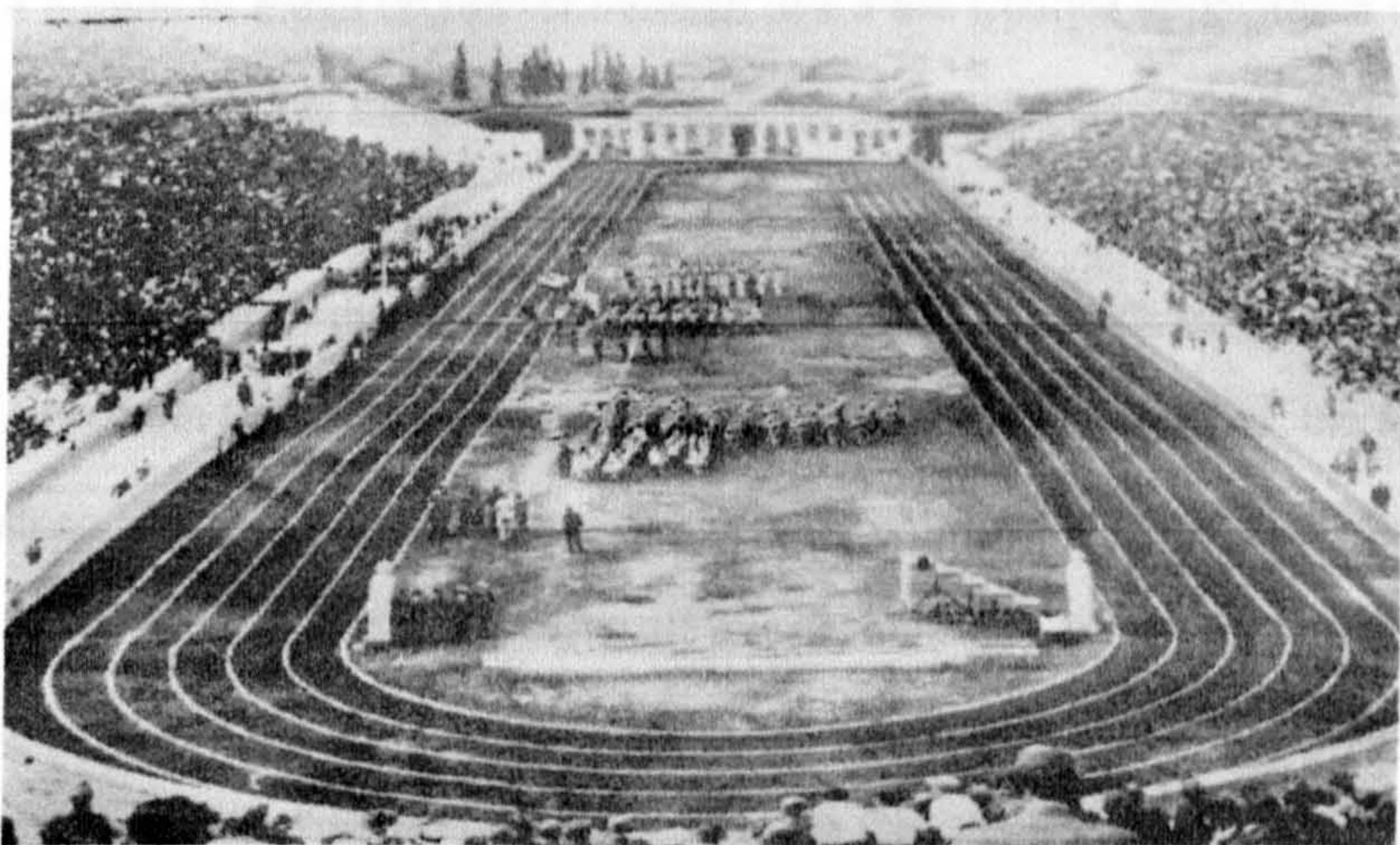
The Games lasted eight days (from 1st to 8th of October) and included 100m, 200m, 400m, 800m, 1,500m, 5,000m and 10,000m race, marathon, 4x100m and 4x400m relay, 110m hurdle race, long jump, triple jump, high jump, pole-vault, discus, javelin and hammer throwing, shot put, 4x100m, 4x200m, 4x400m and 4x800m Balkan relay.²⁰ Greece again put up an excellent performance and won first place. Yugoslavia came second followed by Turkey, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania.²¹ At the closing ceremony and in the presence of Balkan diplomatic representatives, the Balkan sports delegations marched to the strains of a British military band, an event that lent splendour and solemnity.²² The Games seemed to have been deeply rooted in the hearts of the Balkan nations. Figures 5.1 and 5.2 show the athletes at the opening ceremony of the 1933 Games.

FIGURE 5.1



THE BALKAN ATHLETES BEFORE THE OFFICIAL GUESTS AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE 1933 GAMES.
(Eleftheron Vima, 2 October 1933)

FIGURE 5.2



THE ATHLETES TAKE THE OATH AT THE 1933 GAMES.
(Eleftheron Vima, 2 October 1933)

In appropriate proximity, given the similarity of purpose, the fourth Balkan Conference took place in Thessaloniki, Greece. The Conference travelled side by side with the Games along the arduous path to establish closer Balkan relations. The Conference was initially scheduled to be held in September 1933. It was postponed for some time because the Balkan delegates had failed to reach an agreement on crucial political issues.²³ During the interval between the third and fourth Conferences, a maritime Conference had been held in Athens whilst meetings between journalists and municipality officials, as well as a session on agricultural matters, had taken place in Bucharest. In addition, representatives of the Orthodox Churches of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia had met in Sofia where a session on communications and transport had also been held. Constantinople played host to the session on industry and trade.²⁴ At the fourth Balkan Conference, which opened on 4 November 1933 under the presidency of Alexander Papanastassiou, matters touching on the modification of the Conferences' statutes, the studies of Balkan languages, communications, health and social services received priority.²⁵ The Bulgarian delegation raised again the minority issue, but agreed to make no further mention of it if the Council appointed a committee to inquire into the draft of the Balkan Pact and the provisions concerning minorities.²⁶

Furthermore, the Committee on Education and Culture discussed the teaching of Balkan languages and literature in the regional Universities, the foundation of the Balkan History Department and the staging of annual cultural events under the name 'Balkan Weeks'.²⁷ At the closing of the Conference, on 11 November 1933, it was announced that the Balkan representatives were next to meet in Belgrade. A short communiqué to the Balkan nations assured them that the delegates had made every effort to establish unity and cooperation in the area.²⁸ The Bulgarian delegates, however, made clear that political rapprochement was conditional on the settlement of outstanding questions.²⁹ The fifth Balkan Conference was scheduled to be held in

Belgrade in 1934. When the time arrived, the Yugoslavs suggested the postponement of the meeting claiming that the Conference had nothing to offer after the Balkan Pact had already been concluded in February 1934.³⁰ Although the Rumanians disagreed, the fifth Balkan meeting was eventually postponed. The Conferences now expired.³¹

It is argued here that it is important to set down the political relationships between the Balkan states in all their atmosphere of long established suspicion, years of national insecurity and describes for a lasting stability against the odds, in order to juxtapose these relationships with that pervading the Balkan Games. In the way, the value of the Games becomes eminent. They were not a political panacea. They could not be. History was against them. But they were a source of goodwill, a force for harmony and an agent of modernity. In short, in a Balkan political scene where the spirit of goodwill and unity was alternating with intransigence and hostility and the political agreements were being attempted to safeguard national security and to give an impulse to regional collaboration, the Balkan Games, undeterred by disagreements, distrust and national claims and counter-claims, increasingly laid the foundations for modern sport's development in the area and established contact between antagonistic Balkan states. Before a discussion of the 1934 Games, the Balkan Pact of 1934, an important regional political agreement, and the Balkan political and diplomatic scene in the same year will be considered to juxtapose the Games, which clearly became a strong link between the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula with the short-lived political agreements, which initially promised long-lasting collaboration and unity that was finally lost when the national security and the interests of the contracting states were threatened. The Games survived difficulties and proved a stronger link than regional political agreements.

5.2 The 1934 Games and the Balkan Pact

The initiative in creating the 'Balkan Entente' was first taken by Nicolae Titulescu, Foreign Minister of Rumania. The Nazi regime in Germany and the German demand for the revision of treaties generated disquiet in Rumania where there was much concern for the maintenance of the *status quo*. For this reason, Rumania initially attempted to improve its relations with Russia by a treaty of non-aggression in July 1933 then sought to secure the southern border by a Balkan Federation.³² When Titulescu visited Sofia in October 1933 to discuss the creation of the Balkan Federation, he met reservations from the Bulgarians. Nevertheless, the talks with Bulgarian ministers took place in a friendly atmosphere although it was clear that Bulgaria rejected any alliance that consolidated the *status quo*. Bulgaria was amenable, however, to political agreements of non-aggression with its neighbours and could accede to the Balkan Pact on the condition that the term 'aggressor' and its definition, which formed the basis of the Pact, were not included.³³

In early 1934 Bulgaria still stuck to its position. The governments of Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey then decided (with a good deal of reluctance on the part of Yugoslavia) that agreement on the Pact should no longer be postponed. Early in January 1934, Dimitrios Maximos, the Greek Foreign Minister, was empowered to discuss with the governments of the Great Powers the prospects of the Balkan Pact and Bulgarian disagreement. For this reason, he visited London, Paris and Rome. The British and French governments gave their blessing without much reservation. There were serious doubts, however, whether the Pact would be well received by Italy, which now saw a reduction in its influence in Southeastern Europe. Despite some reservations, the Italian government finally assured Maximos that Italy did not oppose the Balkan Pact.³⁴ In February 1934 the foreign ministers of Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey met in Belgrade to finalise the Pact, which was agreed in Belgrade on 4 February and was officially signed in Athens on 9 February 1934. The 'Balkan

Entente' was finally in place.³⁵ Under the terms of the Pact, Greece, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Turkey guaranteed peace in the Balkans and secured the Balkan frontiers. The four states would consult each other on the measures taken in the event that their interests, as they were defined by the agreement were threatened.³⁶ Each of the contracting states was also engaged to reach no political agreement with a non-Balkan state without previous notification of its intention to the Balkan allies. The Pact was open to Bulgaria and Albania.³⁷ By the terms of the Pact, in the event that a contracting state attacked another Balkan country, then the allies would immediately suspend relations with the aggressor state. The Pact could be renounced two years after the official agreement. If it was renounced and no new agreement was concluded, then it remained in force for five additional years.³⁸ In Greece, the Balkan Pact became the focal point of political controversy. Eleftherios Venizelos, former Prime Minister and now leader of the opposition in Parliament, started a strongly worded campaign against the Pact.³⁹ Venizelos believed that the Pact would deprive Greece of neutrality and would expose his country to the danger of involuntary involvement in a possible conflict between Yugoslavia and Italy. Greece was far too vulnerable with the rapidly growing military power of Italy. On the other hand, Alexander Papanastassiou, a keen advocate of the Balkan Pact, deeply believed that the Pact could contribute to the political, economic and cultural development of the region and that it could secure peace. For this reason, he played an active role in smoothing the opposition.⁴⁰ Despite the strong reaction of Venizelos, the Pact was finally ratified by the Greek Chamber of Deputies on 15 March and by the Senate on 2 April 1934.⁴¹

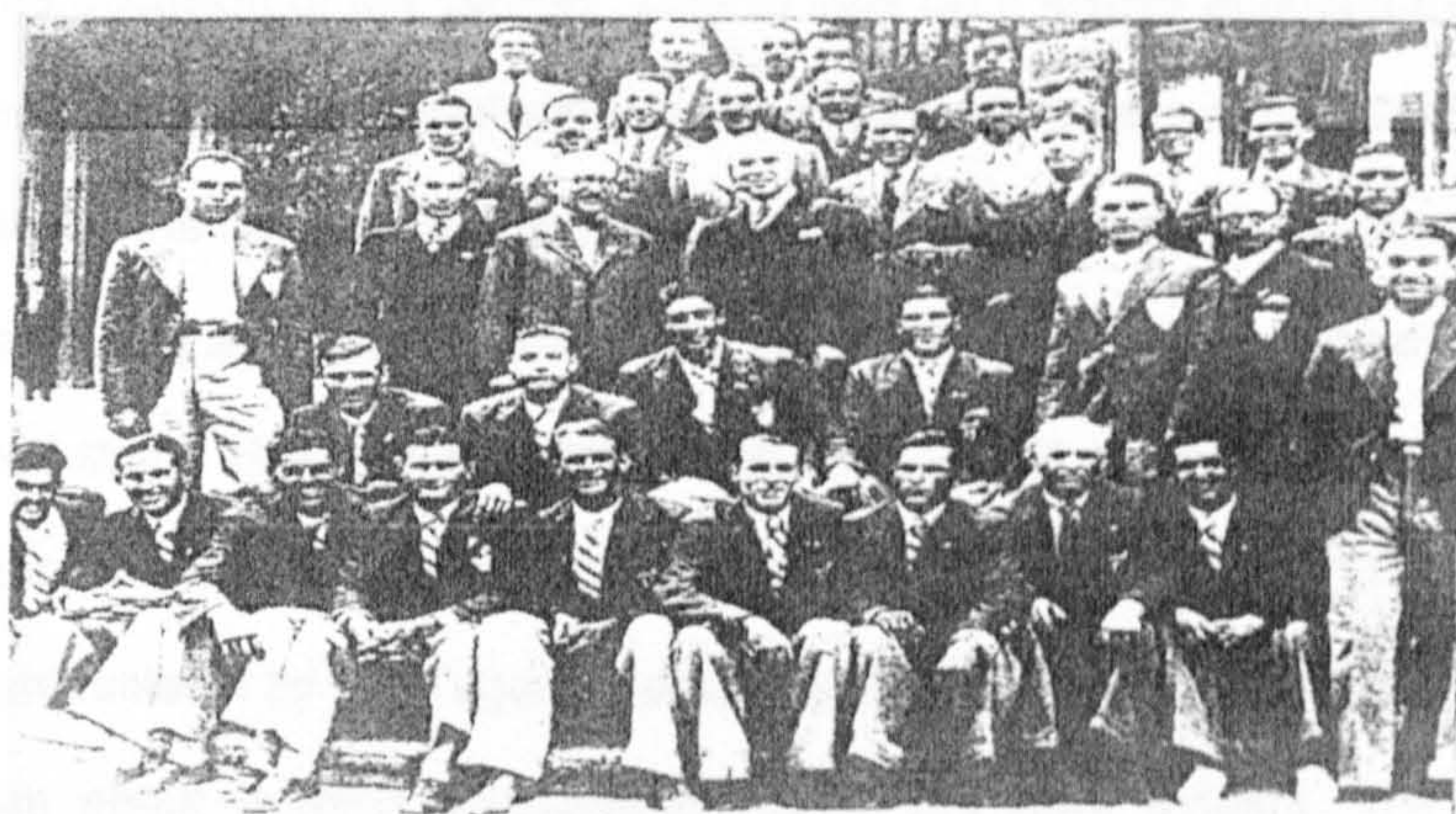
Regarding the political situation in Bulgaria, the Party of the National Union, which was formed in June 1931 and comprised dynamic members of the Agrarian Party, governed the country until 1934. The entry of the Agrarians into the cabinet was followed by an amnesty, which enabled the exiles from the Agrarian Party who had

established their headquarters in Belgrade to return to Bulgaria. Thus, the Party, which was traditionally on friendly terms with Yugoslavia, gained considerable political power in the government.⁴² Economic interests were conducive to the restoration of friendly relationships with Yugoslavia, a matter of vital importance to a Bulgaria that was struggling to terminate the frontier blockade imposed by the Yugoslavs, which hampered the export of Bulgarian products to Europe.⁴³ The Bulgarian government of May 1934 was the result of a coup by Colonel Kimon Georgiev, who had earlier secured the army's support.⁴⁴ The new government promised to reform the Bulgarian parliamentary system and adopt a fresh foreign policy. In the wake of this policy, on 20 May 1934, the government made publicly known its intentions to establish good relations with the Great Powers and the neighbouring Balkan countries.⁴⁵ It also made its intentions clear to impose full authority over the country and by the end of May 1934 Bulgarian troops had undertaken to 'clean up' the districts in which the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, the so-called I.M.R.O., had established an autonomous revolutionary regime. The neighbouring countries were favourably impressed by the fact and seemed hopeful for the settlement of differences.⁴⁶ Regarding Turkish-Bulgarian relations in 1934, negotiations between the two sides opened for a trade agreement and the simplification of passport formalities. The deliberation began early in April 1934 and a Turkish-Bulgarian agreement was concluded on 24 May. This agreement was the first positive outcome of the Turkish-Bulgarian rapprochement.⁴⁷

In this complex political and diplomatic scene in the region, the Balkan Sports Associations with no loss of time began preparations for the following Games which opened at the 'Dynamo' Stadium in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, on 26 August 1934. The Games now crossed the Greek border and, for the first time, occurred outside Greece.⁴⁸ The Yugoslav organising committee aspired to offer well organised

competitions and make the national delegations feel welcome in an amicable and festive atmosphere. The Greek delegation travelled to Zagreb by train and was received by Kreicik, the representative of the Yugoslav Minister of Education, the Yugoslav sports representatives and the Secretary of the Greek Embassy. The Greek delegation may be seen in Figure 5.3.

FIGURE 5.3



THE GREEK DELEGATION TO ZAGREB.
(Eleftheron Vima, 5 September 1934)

Yugoslav sports representatives met the Greek national team at the railway station on the border between Greece and Yugoslavia and offered it an envelope, which included the programme of the Games, a guide of the city of Zagreb, some postcards and a pin with the emblem of the Games on it. Short greetings of welcome were written on the front page of the programme. A particularly warm welcome awaited the Greek delegation:

...We welcome our friends, the Greeks, who initiated us into the Olympic ideals and established and promoted contact between the Balkan peoples. We greet the descendants of the glorious victors of the ancient Olympic games. Returning the superb hospitality you offered us the previous years we welcome you to Yugoslavia with real feelings of friendship.⁴⁹

Clearly, the Yugoslavs recognised the contribution of Greece to the establishment and promotion of the Games and felt grateful for the friendly reception they had in Athens the previous years. Without doubt, the Yugoslavs made every effort to preserve and promote the atmosphere of goodwill and friendship that the Athens Games had fostered.

On the occasion of the Games, Zagreb took on a festive atmosphere. The high streets of the city were bedecked with Balkan flags and posters of the Games. On the eve of the event, the national teams marched in procession through the streets with the flag-bearers leading and amidst warm applause of the crowd. The national delegations were received at the Hall of the Prefecture by the Yugoslav Minister of Education and Physical Education, the Greek Ambassador and by Yugoslav officers.⁵⁰ The event was hailed with enthusiasm by the Yugoslav press on the one hand and on the other delight and optimism about winning Yugoslav performances were evident. The *Vreme* of Belgrade recorded:

...The Games, a great regional event, will take place in Yugoslavia for the first time...Although Greece won first place the previous years, now it is the turn of Yugoslavia to gain first place. This year, several positive factors contribute to a Yugoslav victory. The Yugoslav team is well prepared; it will compete on native land while the Yugoslav spectators will encourage it continuously.⁵¹

The trans-national nature of the Games now seemed to be lost to an extent. In Greece, the press did not blow up the comments of the Yugoslav newspaper and focused on the political and diplomatic role of the Games expressing only hopes for a good Greek performance:

...For the first time the Games will take place outside Greece. We hope that the spirit of goodwill and cooperation that the Athens Games fostered and promoted now will prevail in the Zagreb Games. The Greek team is well prepared and aspires to a new win.⁵²

A number of other newspapers including the *Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados* (*Northern Greece Messenger*), the *Macedonia* and the *Ephemeris ton Balkanion* (*The Newspaper of the Balkans*), said much the same.⁵³

Six countries were involved. Greece, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Turkey and Albania. The Games of 1934 saw the second Albanian involvement. This raised further hopes for the improvement of relations and the promotion of cultural exchanges among the regional competing states. The opening ceremony was held in the presence of 15,000 Yugoslav spectators.⁵⁴ It should be noted that no newspaper report or official document provides information about visitors who travelled from the other Balkan countries to Zagreb to attend the Games. More importantly, there was no fear that order in the stadium might be threatened or that unrest, riots or even clashes with the police in or around the playing field might be generated. According to Peter Beck, in 1934 (the year of the Games in Zagreb) although a match between England and Italy went down in history as 'the Battle of Highbury', disorder, however, was confined to the pitch. The presence of 5,000 Italian supporters caused no serious problems. Foreign supporters who were traveling to matches held in Britain or in other European states caused no serious trouble.⁵⁵ Thus, in exemplary order the Zagreb Games opened in the presence of the Greek Ambassador, the Major of Zagreb, Balkan diplomatic representatives and political and military authorities demonstrating in this way the political and diplomatic role of the event. Amidst the acclamations of the crowd and warm applause, the Balkan athletes entered the stadium with the Albanian team leading followed by the Bulgarian, Greek, Rumanian, Turkish and Yugoslav teams. After the customary parade, Naransic, head of the Yugoslav team, took the oath. General Dokic, representative of King Alexander of Yugoslavia, was invited to open the Games.⁵⁶

The event lasted from 27th of August to 3rd of September and again included 100m, 200m, 400m, 800m, 1,500m, 5,000m and 10,000m race, marathon, 4x100m and 4x400m relay, 110m hurdle race, long jump, triple jump, high jump, pole-vault, discus, javelin and hammer throwing, shot put, 4x100m, 4x200m, 4x400m and 4x800m Balkan relay. The Yugoslav athletes, who may be seen in Figure 5.4, broke many regional records and gained the most points, a great victory.⁵⁷ There was, however, a disharmonious note in the Games. The smooth running of the Games was endangered when the Yugoslavs disputed the Greek victory in the relay race. The Yugoslav referees were partial towards their own competitors and attempted to expel the Greeks from the race with the excuse that they ran, contrary to regulations, on the internal line of the track. The Greek athletes threatened to depart. Good relations between the two states were jeopardized.⁵⁸ As a mark of goodwill, the Yugoslav Sports Association sustained the Greek objection while the Yugoslav Minister of Physical Education offered himself as a mediator. The Yugoslavs gave way to the Greek threat and the embarrassing situation was averted.⁵⁹

FIGURE 5.4



THE YUGOSLAVIAN TEAM AT THE 1934 GAMES.
(Dimitris Bondikoulis' Collection, Sport Museum, Athens)

Greece again won first place followed in order by Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Turkey and Albania.⁶⁰ Yugoslav desire for first place in the Games was evident. The Games were the most important regional event and it is not unrealistic to say that victory promoted to some extent the national prestige. Thus the Greek win was hailed with enthusiasm by the Greek sports enthusiasts. Returning home, a warm reception awaited the athletes at the railway station of Athens. The Minister of Education and the Prefect of Attica received them at the Town Hall. The Minister of Education addressed them on behalf of the Greek government:

...I welcome you on behalf of the Prime Minister and congratulate you on the excellent performances. I speak in full conviction that the manifestations of enthusiasm by the Athenians do not reveal nationalism or extreme egoism. I believe that our athletes pursue high and everlasting ideals that emerge from the ancient games and remain unchangeable in the course of time. The city of Athens is not surrounded by walls to be collapsed. However, you are expected to spread that sport can and must be a source of friendship, collaboration, ethos, strength and courage.⁶¹

The value of sport as a source of good fellowship and collaboration between peoples and a force of bridge building was again and again pointed out by politicians while manifestations of nationalism were clearly disapproved.

The 1935 Games were to be held in Constantinople and preparations started soon after the curtain of the Zagreb Games went down. The Greek athletes would be involved in competitions in Turkey for the first time. This fact filled them with enthusiasm and anticipation on the one hand and on the other they were circumspect about the reception they would be given by the Turkish spectators due to traditional hostility and serious national differences of the previous decades. The 1935 Games now will be discussed in conjunction with a brief review of trans-Balkan relations and the political situation in Greece in the year of the Games.

5.3 The Games of 1935 and Inter-Balkan relations in the same year

Trans-Balkan relations seemed considerably improved in 1935. Turkey and Greece created an organization for the promotion of exports, particularly of tobacco, raisins and wine. Greece and Bulgaria settled the outstanding question regarding Bulgarian liability for expropriated property in the Rhodope Mountains. Bulgaria and Rumania formed a Committee to inquire into the construction of a bridge over the Danube at Giurgiu-Russe. Rumania and Yugoslavia discussed the construction of a bridge over the Danube, but the talks reached an impasse when the Yugoslavs insisted upon the construction of a tunnel instead of a bridge.⁶² Furthermore, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia agreed to the opening of some crossing places on the Yugoslav-Bulgarian frontier, implementing the agreement between King Alexander and Boris in 1934. Bulgaria and Turkey concluded a trade treaty and renewed a previous non-aggression pact.⁶³

In the same period, in Greece, the tense political situation resulted in the unfortunate revolt of 1st March 1935,⁶⁴ after the failure of which, Venizelos, who was accused of involvement, left Greece and settled in Paris from where he was never to return. The revolt had a catastrophic impact on the Liberal Party in general and on Venizelos in particular. It was ostensibly made to safeguard democracy, but it paved the way for the dictatorship imposed by the Conservative Right. Many officers who supported the Liberal Party were removed from their army posts, three leaders of the 'Liberal Defense League' were shot and their property confiscated, many Liberal leaders were sentenced to imprisonment and Venizelos was sentenced to death although he was living in France.⁶⁵ It was then that General Kondyles, supported by officers from the armed forces, deposed the Prime Minister Panages Tsaldares on 10 September 1935, and suppressed the Constitution. On the same day, the National Assembly appointed a new government under the presidency of Kondyles. The abolition of the Republican Democracy and the restoration of Monarchy were to be

secured after a national election. The plebiscite, which was much disputed inasmuch as it was held in an unorthodox way, took place on 3 November 1935 and showed the majority in favour of Monarchy.⁶⁶ King George II, who had been living in exile since late 1923 returned to Greece in November 1935 to ascend again to the throne. Amnesty was granted to the opponents of the Liberal Party and the preparation for the national elections was initiated in January 1936.⁶⁷

Despite political instability, Greece was ready for the Games in time. The 1935 Balkan Games, with Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Albania involved, opened on 21 September at the renovated stadium of 'Fener Baktse' in Constantinople. The Turkish Sports Association worked with zeal on the organisation. The organising committee secured government moral and financial support and a considerable sum of money was put at its disposal. The event took place in the presence of thousands of spectators, who had the pleasure to attend the Games in their own country for the first time. As noted above it was also the first time that the Greek national team competed in Turkey. Reasonably, the possibility of an unfriendly attitude of the Turkish crowd towards the Greek athletes in the stadium remained an unknown quantity for the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association for long. The Turks, however, removed all the anxieties. There was exemplary order in the stadium and the Turkish spectators gave the Balkan national teams a warm reception.⁶⁸ The myth of traditional Greco-Turkish hostility had been overcome through sport. On the occasion of the Games, Constantinople took on a festive air. High streets and central squares were bedecked with posters of the Games. The opening ceremony took place in the presence of Turkish politicians and Balkan diplomatic and sports representatives marking once again the political role of the event. The stadium was filled to capacity and men of the Greek warship, which lay at anchor at Constantinople, livened up the event with enthusiastic acclamations. Figure 5.5 shows the poster of the 1935 Games

while the men of the Greek warship who attended the Games may be seen in Figure 5.6.

FIGURE 5.5



POSTER OF THE 1935 BALKAN GAMES.
(Eleftheron Vima, 22 September 1935)

FIGURE 5.6



MEN OF THE GREEK NAVY AT THE 1935 GAMES IN CONSTANTINOPLE.
(Eleftheron Vima, 23 September 1935)

The Major of Constantinople, in a short speech, welcomed official guests and the Balkan sports delegations and stressed the important role sport played in bringing six antagonistic states together. M. Rinopoulos, head of the Hellenic delegation, who followed the Major of Constantinople in the official addresses, expressed feelings of deep emotion and pleasure for the warm reception the Greek team had. Rinopoulos observed:

...The Balkan Games were initiated in Athens and the fact that now they take place in Constantinople with the participation of six Balkan countries gives Greece great satisfaction and offers hope for the future of the Games and their role in the area.⁶⁹

Yet again, the political undertones of the Games rose to the surface. Political and diplomatic aspirations of the Games remained to the fore. On the occasion of the event, congratulatory telegrams were sent to the organizing committee by King Boris of Bulgaria, Kemal Atatourk, President of the Turkish Republic and by A. Zaimes, President of the Hellenic Republic.⁷⁰ The Turkish hospitality was impressive and the attitude of the Turks towards athletes and Balkan sports and diplomatic representatives above reproach.⁷¹ The Games lasted from 21st to 29th of September and included the standard events. Greece achieved the higher points and consequently first place. Yugoslavia came second followed by Rumania, Turkey, Bulgaria and Albania.⁷²

The Balkan sports representatives, who met early in October in Constantinople to discuss the forthcoming meeting, decided that Bulgaria should be host to the Games in 1936. The Rumanian delegates, however, argued that it was Rumania's turn to stage them. It was suggested by way of compromise that Rumania should host the Games in the event that Bulgaria notified the respective Balkan Sports Associations that it was not in the position to stage the event. The Rumanians were pleased with the opportunity and promised a successful competition.⁷³ The fact that the competing states were keen to stage the Games suggests that the competitions had gained great

popularity throughout the Balkans; they had become deeply rooted in the hearts of the Balkan sports enthusiasts and had become an integral part of the cultural and social life of the Balkan countries.

The Greek team returned to Piraeus by the Turkish steamship 'Izmir'. Sports enthusiasts, Rusen Esref, the Turkish Ambassador in Athens, the Turkish consul and the municipal authorities, to the strains of the town band, received the Greek delegation at the port. The Major of Piraeus offered the head of the delegation a small statue, which depicted a discus thrower, a symbolic present. M. Rinopoulos, head of the Greek team, expressed his pleasure for the cordial Turkish welcome and the superb hospitality:

...We return home most impressed by the Games in Constantinople. The Turkish people reserved a warm welcome for the Greek delegation. We also feel proud that our athletes achieved excellent performances and represented Greece successfully. Nevertheless, a good preparation will offer us the possibility to make a good look at the following meeting.⁷⁴

It is clear that the way the Games were staged, the efforts to create an amicable atmosphere in the stadium and the political and diplomatic role of the event took priority in the official addresses of politicians and sports representatives. Improved performances and the evolution of Balkan sport were also matters of great concern. After the reception and the official addresses, athletes and sports representatives all together marched to the University of Athens where they were received by the rector, members of the University senate and by representatives of the Students' Union.⁷⁵ In this way the University community demonstrated that it recognised the constructive role of sport and the Games in particular in the promotion of trans-Balkan cooperation and the development of modern sport. With the 1935 Games in Constantinople, the Balkan Games completed a five-year successful course. Without doubt, the Balkan Sports

Associations, Balkan leaders, diplomats and politicians supported the Games morally and financially appreciating their positive political and diplomatic role in the region.

Conclusion

The diplomatic background to the on-going existence of the Games has been set out in brief in order to juxtapose the harmonious co-existence of the Balkan nations in the world of sport with the world of political negotiations, confrontations and compromises. The Games survived the political wrangling and unquestionably served as source of amicable cooperation that sustained the morale of the respective populations. Thus, despite the complex diplomatic scene in the Balkans and the constant transition from good to bad relations and vice versa, the Games continued their successful course following principles that fostered trust and good fellowship among athletes, sports delegates and journalists from the competing countries. The meetings established contact and facilitated the discussions among the Balkan diplomats and government representatives. The Balkan nations sought systematically and persistently rapprochement and unity throughout the 1930s.

The political agreements between the states of the region aimed to secure the territorial integrity of the contracting states and to protect them from the Nazi threat. Amidst discouraging developments in Europe and a general pessimism about the future of peace and unity in the Balkans, the Games were held successfully and contributed to the Balkan sport's development. The enthusiastic involvement of athletes and the presence of diplomats, government and sports representatives from the competing states, revealed an intense desire for stability and collaboration at all levels. Regional cooperation through sport and culture, it was hoped that might increasingly produce positive results in the political domain. In addition, the Games offered those

involved the opportunity to meet and discuss about cultural exchanges in the effort to bring a satisfactory settlement of national differences that generated dissension and diplomatic isolation many times in the past.

The promotion of the national prestige was not the purpose of the inspirational founders of the Games. For years, the Games brought athletes, sports delegates, journalists, government and diplomatic representatives of six countries together, in a spirit of good fellowship, cooperation and unity and in an effort to make a definite step forward and to provide the Balkan nations with the possibility to establish, at least, better cultural relations in a meritorious effort to avoid military confrontation and to restore hope and understanding in the Balkan Peninsula. One important outcome of the Games was the growth of modern sport in the region. Although this study does not intend to provide statistical data concerning the athletes' performances year after year, it should be noted that their performances were increasingly improved. The Greek athletes were superior to their competitors, in the first years of the Games. Over the years, Yugoslavs, Rumanians and Bulgarians increasingly put up excellent performances and competed the Greeks successfully. In such a situation, the Turkish athletes, who were initially much inferior to their competitors, tried hard and finally they too won for their country gold and silver medals, achievements that lent them wings for further victories. In addition, from 1934 onwards, not only Athens but also other Balkan cities such as Zagreb and Constantinople played host to the Games.

In the political dimension of the Games, rhetoric was allied to organization. Balkan diplomats and sports delegates, who addressed the audience and opened the competitions, encouraged all these involved to combine their efforts in a common purpose: the restoration of trust and hope in the Balkan Peninsula and the promotion of collaboration through sport and culture. In an attempt to give the event high status and

official recognition, the organising committee of the Games appointed the prime minister of the host country honorary president and its ministers were nominated as members. The final result was that the prewar Games became the stimulus to cultural exchanges in the region and a shining example to its peoples of friendship and unity through sport. Six antagonist countries met, for the first time, in a laudable attempt to further peace and understanding.

Simultaneously and in the face of alarming developments in Europe, various political agreements attempted to strengthen trans-Balkan relationships. The 1933 Greco-Turkish pact of pledge was seen as a significant attempt at national and regional security. Furthermore, the fear generated in Europe by a rapid disintegration of the interwar peace structure expedited agreement on the Balkan Pact in 1934 between Greece, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Turkey. The disintegration was precipitated by the threat posed to the Versailles structure by Germany and also by both the inability and unwillingness of France and Britain to meet it and defend effectively the *status quo*.⁷⁶ The Balkan states were forced to reconsider their policies and the 1934 Pact seemed to offer some positive political benefits. Rumania saw the 'Balkan Entente' as a strong political alliance capable to support its foreign policy in Central Europe. Turkey aspired to consolidate its position in the Balkans and to secure the Dardanelle Straits. Yugoslavia, though not amenable to an anti-Bulgarian alliance, it was finally persuaded to enter into the alliance by the fear of the establishment even closer relations between Greece and Turkey that might result in its isolation in the area and the possibility of Rumania's withdrawal from the 'Little Entente' in the event that Yugoslavia refused agreement.⁷⁷ In addition, the fourth Balkan Conference that took place in 1933 laid trans-Balkan cooperation a step forward. The Games from 1936 to 1939 and the political scene in the Balkans in the second half of the 1930s now will be considered.

Footnotes

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- ¹ Christopoulos, George, Bulgaria's Record, op. cit., p. 66.
- ² Pavlowitch, Stevan, A History of the Balkans, 1804-1945, New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999, pp. 150-152.
- ³ Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 103-110.
- ⁴ Ibid., pp. 115-130.
- ⁵ Pipinelis, Panagiotis, Historia tes Exoterikis Politikis tes Hellados 1923-1941 (History of the Greek Foreign Policy 1923-1941), op. cit., p. 162.
- ⁶ Ibid., pp. 162-165
- ⁷ Ibid., pp. 168-170.
- ⁸ N. Titulescu did not give up the effort to secure Bulgarian agreement. On 1 November 1933, King Carol of Rumania and Titulescu met King Boris and N. Mushanov, the Bulgarian Prime Minister, on a yacht in Dunabe River. The Rumanian diplomat exerted all his influence to convince the Bulgarian rulers that an alliance among the five Balkan countries was of great significance. He was clutching at straws. In response, the Bulgarian Prime Minister proposed a pact of non-aggression between Rumania and Bulgaria, a disruptive to regional unity Bulgarian proposal. See Pipinelis, Panagiotis, Historia tes Exoterikis Politikis tes Hellados 1923-1941 (History of the Greek Foreign Policy 1923-1941), op. cit., pp. 171-176.
- ⁹ "The Balkan Pact and the Position of Bulgaria", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, p. 516. A month later, an informal meeting between Alexander and Boris took place at Euxinograd, near Varna, and in December 1933 King Boris and Queen Joanna paid an official visit to Belgrade. Greece and Turkey saw the Bulgarian-Yugoslav rapprochement with mixed feelings. The two states advocated the creation of a Balkan Federation and were expected to rejoice at the appeasement of the interminable hostility, which had been the most serious obstacle in the way of unity and collaboration. The speedy improvement in Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations caused alarm rather than satisfaction in Ankara and Athens. The fact that Bulgaria and Yugoslavia might jointly influence affairs in South-eastern Europe instead of entering into the Balkan Federation was seen with apprehension. See "The Balkan Pact and the Position of Bulgaria", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, pp. 516-518. Moreover, there were still serious financial differences between Greece and Bulgaria. For this reason, when the third Balkan Conference took place in Bucharest in March 1933, Bulgarian and Greek delegates agreed on a Protocol by which the national delegations to the Conference would see to the settlement of the Greco-Bulgarian economic differences. Furthermore, Bulgarian and Turkish delegates agreed to join forces for the promotion of collaboration between the two sides. Encouraged by the positive developments, in May 1933 the Greek and Turkish governments suggested that Bulgaria should accede to a political agreement that would guarantee the common border. Bulgaria, however, was interested in the revision of the Peace Treaties rather than in the restoration of good relations with its

Balkan neighbours. See "The Balkan Pact and the Position of Bulgaria", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, pp. 516-518.

¹⁰ Pipinelis, Panagiotis, Historia tes Exoterikis Politikis tes Hellados 1923-1941 (History of the Greek Foreign Policy 1923-1941), op. cit., p. 166.

¹¹ Kerner, Robert-Joseph and Howard, Harry-Nicholas, The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente 1930-1935. A Study in the Recent History of the Balkan and Near Eastern Peoples, op. cit., pp. 139-140.

¹² Ibid., p. 140. In the wake of this policy, on 26 April 1934, the French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou, visited Prague to cement the alliance with Czechoslovakia. Two months later, he travelled to Bucharest where the Council of the 'Little Entente' was in session. He then visited Belgrade with the intention of keeping Yugoslavia within the French orbit of alliances. See Kerner, Robert-Joseph and Howard, Harry-Nicholas, The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente 1930-1935. A Study in the Recent History of the Balkan and Near Eastern Peoples, op. cit., pp. 140-148. In the meantime, the deliberations between Bulgaria and Greece on financial differences resumed in November 1933. A month later it was publicly announced that an agreement was reached, in principle, but serious difficulties still remained. With regard to Bulgarian-Turkish relations, they suffered a setback after Bulgaria's refusal to join the 1933 Greco-Turkish pact of pledge. See "The Balkan Pact and the Position of Bulgaria", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, p. 534. Thus, the first signs of friction between Bulgaria and Turkey made their appearance in 1934. Bulgaria and Turkey leveled accusations against each other of ill treatment of minorities and, in August 1934, a war of words was waged from both sides. Nevertheless, the situation did not reach a point of high tension. Although the year 1934 ended without Bulgaria's accession to the Balkan Pact, the conciliatory attitude Bulgaria adopted in the negotiations on the controversial issues and its reservations about raising the revision of the treaties provided some assurances that its absence from the 'Balkan Entente' did not constitute a threat to peace and security in Southeastern Europe. See "The Balkan Pact and the Position of Bulgaria", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, p. 534.

¹³ The 1926 and 1927 Italian-Albanian treaties, under the terms of which Albania could not enter into political agreement with another country, expired in 1931. The Albanian government refused to renew the treaty despite the Italian pressure. In the summer of 1932, the general discontent was vented in a plot against King Zog. The plot was discovered, but public opposition to the Italian domination forced the Albanian government to refuse the Italian demand for concessions. See "The Balkan Pact and the Position of Bulgaria", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, p. 535.

¹⁴ In the autumn of 1934 the Greek minority in Albania appealed to the League of Nations against the suspension of the Greek language in public schools. In January 1935 the dispute was referred for arbitration to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Meanwhile, the Albanian government declined further agreements with Italy and dismissed the Italian instructors who were training the Albanian army. See "The Balkan Pact and the Position of Bulgaria", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, pp. 535-536.

¹⁵ Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 240-241. Under the terms of the Greco-Turkish Pact, Greece and Turkey guaranteed the common border and agreed to consult each other on regional and international issues. The two sides also agreed to represent each other at the international meetings at which the number of participants was limited. See Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 240-241; "The Balkan Pact and the Position of Bulgaria", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, pp. 518-519. The Pact was to remain in force for ten years and would be renewed automatically unless it was renounced a year before its expiration. At the official announcement of the agreement it was stressed that the contracting states anticipated an increasing number of neighbours to accede to it. Bulgarian disaffection was particularly directed against Turkey, which seemed to stand in the way of the Bulgarian expansionism, as it guaranteed the Greek border. That Bulgaria could no longer depend on Turkey's friendship was evident by the fact that the Turkish government had protested for the ill treatment of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria. As a result, when Ismet Inonu and Tewfik Rusdhi, the Turkish Prime Minister and Foreign Minister respectively, visited Sofia on 20 September 1933 with the purpose of removing Bulgaria's apprehension on the implications of the new Pact and inducing the Bulgarian government to join the Greco-Turkish agreement, they had a cool reception indicative of a change in the Bulgarian feelings towards Turkey. See "The Balkan Pact and the Position of Bulgaria", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, p. 519; Hartmann, W. Hans, "Les relations Greco-Turques du Traite de Lausanne au Pacte d'Ankara 1923-1933", Les Balkans, vol. 11, October-November-December 1939, pp. 349-350. Bulgaria, which opposed agreements that stood on the way of the revision of treaties, was suspicious of the Greco-Turkish Pact. Moreover, the pact of non-aggression agreed between Turkey, Yugoslavia and Rumania in the summer of 1933, caused Bulgarian anxiety. By this pact, in the event that a Balkan state supported an attacker state against a third Balkan country or if it refused to take the necessary measures to deprive the attacker of assistance, then this state was regarded as an aggressor too. The failure of successive Bulgarian governments to curb the aggressive actions committed by the I.M.R.O. brought Bulgaria within the context of this definition. See "The Balkan Pact and the Position of Bulgaria", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, pp. 519-520. The *détente* with Yugoslavia afforded some hope that the government of Belgrade would not regard Bulgaria as an aggressor in the event that a frontier incident took place, but there was no guarantee that one of the three states whose border was the field of komitadjis' raids would not see Bulgaria as an aggressor. No doubt, all these considerations stimulated the Bulgarians to secure Yugoslav friendship, but it was difficult for them to agree a treaty by which the *status quo* in the region was definitely consolidated. See "The Balkan Pact and the Position of Bulgaria", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, pp. 520-521.

¹⁶ Eleftheron Vima, 2 October 1933; Macedonia, 8 October 1933; "Balkanikoi Agones 1933 (The Balkan Games of 1933)", in Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association (ed), Peninta Chronia Balkanikon Agonon (Fifty Years of Balkan Games), op. cit., p. 38.

¹⁷ Eleftheron Vima, 2 October 1933; Macedonia, 8 October 1933; "Balkanikoi Agones 1933 (The Balkan Games of 1933)", in Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association(ed), Peninta Chronia Balkanikon Agonon (Fifty Years of Balkan Games), op. cit., p. 38.

¹⁸ Eleftheron Vima, 1 October 1933.

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- ¹⁹ Eleftheron Vima, 1 October 1933; Eleftheron Vima, 2 October 1933.
- ²⁰ Eleftheron Vima, 2 October 1933.
- ²¹ Eleftheron Vima, 9 October 1933.
- ²² Macedonia, 9 October 1933; Eleftheron Vima, 9 October 1933.
- ²³ "Conference Balkanique: Memoires soumis a la Troisieme Conference", Les Balkans, vol. 4, no 10, July 1933, op. cit., pp. 311-324; Kerner, Robert-Joseph and Howard, Harry-Nicholas, The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente 1930-1935. A Study in the Recent History of the Balkan and Near Eastern Peoples, op. cit., p. 95. It should be noted here that the Conference had gone through a crisis in Bucharest in 1932 when the Bulgarian delegates withdrew from the meeting for reasons mentioned in the text. However, when the Conference opened in November 1933, the delegates were prepared to resume the talks.
- ²⁴ Padelford, J. Norman, Peace in the Balkans. The Movement Towards International Organization in the Balkans, op. cit., p. 72.
- ²⁵ Papanastassiou, Alexander, Vers l' Union Balkanique. Les Conferences Balkaniques 1930-1933, op. cit., p. 180. The Committee on political matters inquired into the implementation of previous resolutions and called for periodic meetings among the foreign ministers. See Kerner, Robert-Joseph and Howard, Harry-Nicholas, The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente 1930-1935. A Study in the Recent History of the Balkan and Near Eastern Peoples, op. cit., p. 100; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, Maria, "O Alexandros Papanastassiou kai e Balkaniki Synenoesse (Alexander Papanastassiou and the Balkan Understanding)", Dodoni, vol. 16, Ioannina: University of Ioannina, Faculty of Philosophy-Department of History and Archaeology, 1987, pp. 140-141.
- ²⁶ Papanastassiou, Alexander, Vers l'Union Balkanique. Les Conferences Balkaniques 1930-1933, op. cit., pp. 183-187. One of the most important matters the Committee on economic matters had to discuss was this touching on the regional Customs Union
- ²⁷ "Les 'Semaines' Balkaniques", Les Balkans, vol. 4, nos 8-9, May-June 1933, pp. 113-123.
- ²⁸ Kerner, Robert-Joseph and Howard, Harry-Nicholas, The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente 1930-1935. A Study in the Recent History of the Balkan and Near Eastern Peoples, op. cit., pp. 110-111.
- ²⁹ Batowski, Henry, "Le Mouvement Pan Balkanique", Revue Internationale des Etudes Balkaniques, vol. 6, 1938, pp. 325-330.
- ³⁰ Papanastassiou, Alexander, "La Ve Conference Balkanique", Les Balkans, vol. 5, nos 3-4, March-April 1934, pp. 201-213; Kerner, Robert-Joseph and Howard, Harry-Nicholas, The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente 1930-1935. A Study in the Recent History of the Balkan and Near Eastern Peoples, op. cit., pp. 137-157.
- ³¹ Kerner, Robert-Joseph and Howard, Harry-Nicholas, The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente 1930-1935. A Study in the Recent History of the Balkan and Near

Eastern Peoples, op. cit., pp. 157-158. However, it was officially announced that the next Balkan meeting was to be held in April 1935 or in October of the same year.

³² "The Balkan Pact and the Position of Bulgaria", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, p. 521. Rumania was successful in its attempt to settle the differences with Bulgaria. In January 1932, the Rumanian government agreed postponement of the payment of the second instalment of Bulgaria's debt to it as it was stipulated by an agreement of 20th January 1930. The decision had a positive impact on Bulgaria and finally resulted in the 1932 rapprochement. Thus, cooperation in the field of culture and the construction of a railway bridge across the Danube River, a matter that had been discussed many times in the past, was submitted to serious consideration in autumn 1932. See "The Balkan Pact and the Position of Bulgaria", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, p. 522.

³³ Kerner, Robert-Joseph and Howard, Harry-Nicholas, The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente 1930-1935. A Study in the Recent History of the Balkan and Near Eastern Peoples, op. cit., pp. 121-122.

³⁴ Svolopoulos, Constantinos, 'Le Probleme de la Securite dans le Sud-Est Europeen de l' Entre-Deux-Guerres : A la Recherche des Origines du Pacte Balkanique de 1934', in Mitsakis, K. (ed), Balkan Studies, vol. 14, Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1973, pp. 274-278.

³⁵ "The Balkan Pact and the Position of Bulgaria", in Toynbee, J. Arnold.(ed), Survey of International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, p. 526; Svolopoulos, Constantinos, To Balkanikon Symphonon kai he Helliniki Exoteriki Politiki 1928-1934. Anekdoton Keimenon tou Eleftheriou Venizelou (The Balkan Pact and the Greek Foreign Policy 1928-1934. An Unpublished Text of Eleftherios Venizelos), Athens: I. D. Kollarou, 1974, pp. 18-26. Almost a month prior to the signing of the Balkan Pact, in a confidential letter to S. P. Waterlow, the British Minister in Athens, Sir John Simon, the Foreign Secretary, stated that some information was given to him by D. Maximos, the Greek Foreign Minister, about the proposed Pact. In accordance with Sir John Simon's report, Maximos had stated that the Pact aspired to guarantee the national borders of the contracting states. Although there were difficulties in persuading Bulgaria to agree to the Pact, Maximos did not despair of success inasmuch as he believed that the King of Bulgaria, in reality, favoured the regional agreement, but he hesitated to give his blessing for the fear of provoking Bulgarian public opinion, which was particularly concerned with the Bulgarian national borders. See FO371/18385/Sir John Simon to Waterlow, Athens, 11 January 1934; FO 371/18385/Sir N. Henderson, General Report, Belgrade, 29 January 1934. The document refers to the Foreign Office telegram to Athens, no 5 of 25th January CR 454/22/67. On 29 January 1934, Sir N. Henderson, the British Ambassador in Belgrade, reported to the Foreign Office on the position of the Yugoslav government on the Balkan Pact. Henderson stressed that the Yugoslavs believed that the Pact would be ineffectual without Bulgarian accession to it. The Yugoslav government therefore sought to gain time in order to find a formula that would afford the Bulgarians the possibility of agreement. The French position on the Balkan Pact was exposed in the general report submitted to the Foreign Office by Campbell, the British Ambassador in Paris. The British diplomat noted that the French government took no active part in the discussions for the Pact, but it advised the Yugoslav government to proceed in the procedure step by step giving in this way the Bulgarian side the opportunity to make up its mind. More importantly, France recommended no further postponement of the agreement on the Pact. See

FO371/18385/Campbell, General Report, Paris, 29 January 1934. The document refers to the Foreign Office telegram, no 24 of 25th January.

³⁶ Papanastassiou, Alexander, Vers l'Union Balkanique. Les Conférences Balkaniques 1930-1933, op. cit., pp. 271-272. The French text of the Pact is also cited in: Svolopoulos, Constantine, 'Le Probleme de la Securite dans le Sud-Est Europeen de l'Entre-Deux-Guerres : A la Recherche des Origines du Pacte Balkanique de 1934', in Mitsakis, K. (ed), Balkan Studies, vol. 14, Annexe 1, op. cit., 1973, pp. 290-291.

³⁷ Papanastassiou, Alexander, Vers l'Union Balkanique. Les Conférences Balkaniques 1930-1933, op. cit., pp. 271-272; "The Balkan Pact and the Position of Bulgaria", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, p. 527.

³⁸ Papanastassiou, Alexander, "La Conference Balkanique et le Pacte", Les Balkans, vol. 5, nos 1-2, January-February 1934, p. 109; "The Balkan Pact and the Position of Bulgaria", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, p. 527. The aims of the Balkan Pact were made clear once again at the official banquet on 7 February 1934, the day of the solemn signature in Athens. The Greek Foreign Minister, Dimitrios Maximos recognised that the Pact had not fulfilled all the expectations of the Balkan nations, but, at least, the contracting sides had put their national aspirations aside in an effort to face the alarming political developments in Europe. Nicolae Titulescu pointed out that the Pact was a response to all those attempts that aimed at the revision of treaties, while Tewfik Rusdhl, the Turkish Foreign Minister, said that the Pact secured the rights of the Balkan nations and consolidated peace in the Balkan Peninsula. See "Le Pacte d'Entente Balkanique", Les Balkans, vol. 5, nos 1-2, January-February 1934, op. cit., pp. 93-98. Albania was not invited to agree the Pact because of the Italian presence in the country and in an effort to avoid interference of Italy in Balkan affairs. See Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, Maria, "O Alexandros Papanastassiou kai e Balkaniki Synenoesse (Alexander Papanastassiou and the Balkan Entente)", Dodoni, vol. 16, op. cit., p. 148; Geshkoff, Theodore, Balkan Union. A Road to Peace in Southeastern Europe, op. cit., p. 215. More significantly, a secret Protocol was agreed among the four states, which was persistently denied for months. The so-called secret Protocol-Annex, signed on 9 February 1934, was initially communicated to the Great Powers and then it was made publicly known within the signatory states. The document was initially published in the Bulgarian newspaper *Zora* of Sofia on 18 March 1934 and it was summarised by *The Times* of London in April 25, 1934, p. 13; Geshkoff, Theodore, Balkan Union. A Road to Peace in Southeastern Europe, op. cit., p. 216. The Protocol defined the engagements stipulated by the Pact and provided for the case of one of the contracting parties suffering an attack by a non-Balkan state supported by a Balkan country. In such a case the Balkan Pact would operate in full effect against the aggressor state. See "The Balkan Entente", in Wheeler-Bennett, John and Heald, Stephen (eds), Documents on International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, p. 298; "The Balkan Pact and the Position of Bulgaria", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, p. 527. Furthermore, the Protocol stipulated the measures to be taken by each contracting state against Bulgaria if armed bands from Bulgaria terrorised its neighbours. Such activities were to be regarded as aggressive actions, under the terms of the London Convention. Bulgaria protested against the provisions of the Protocol and stuck to its decision not to accede to the Pact. See "The Balkan Entente", in Wheeler-Bennett, John and Heald, Stephen (eds), Documents on International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, p. 299. The text of the secret Protocol was as follows: 'Any state will be considered an Aggressor, which commits any of the actions defined in article 2 of July

3rd 1933. The Pact is directed against no Power, but is intended to guarantee the security of the Balkan frontiers against acts of aggression by the Balkan states. Should a signatory be attacked by a non-Balkan state and should the latter be supported by a Balkan state, the Pact will come into operation against the Balkan state. The signatories must conclude within six months Conventions providing for the execution of the terms of the Pact. The Pact does not conflict with agreements previously concluded and published by the signatories. The signatories will respect all the previous agreements signed by them. The Pact is defensive and will not operate in favour of a signatory committing an act of aggression. It intends to preserve the *status* in the Balkans. Its duration will be determined within the ensuing two years and in the meantime no denunciation is permissible. If, in the end of two years, no duration is agreed, the Pact will be renewed automatically for a further five years. And upon expiry of that term, if still had not been denounced, it will be automatically renewed for a further equal period.' See New York Times, 26 April 1934; Eleftheron Vima, 21 March 1934. The French text of the secret Protocol is also cited in: Papanastassiou, Alexander, Vers l'Union Balkanique. Les Conferences Balkaniques 1930-1933, op. cit., pp. 271-272; The French text of the Pact is also cited in: Svolopoulos, Constantinos, 'Le Probleme de la Securite dans le Sud-Est Europeen de l'Entre-Deux-Guerres : A la Recherche des Origines du Pacte Balkanique de 1934', in Mitsakis, K. (ed), Balkan Studies, vol. 14, Annexe 2, op. cit., 1973, pp. 291-292. The Macedonian question and Bulgaria's access to the Aegean were two crucial issues, which made Sofia reject the idea of partnership in the new regional alliance. Apart from Bulgaria, Albania did not agree to the Pact. Albania was completely controlled by fascist Italy and it would have been unrealistic to expect from King Zog bold initiatives that might offer Albania the possibility of joining its Balkan neighbours without encountering Mussolini's opposition. See Raditsa, Bogdan, "Venizelos and the Struggle around the Balkan Pact", in Mitsakis, K. (ed), Balkan Studies, vol. 6, no 1, op. cit., 1965, p. 119. Raditsa was the correspondent of the *Agence Avala*. While the negotiations on the Balkan Pact were still in progress, a serious matter regarding the implementation of the Pact by the Turkish government was raised by Russia. The Russian Ambassador in Ankara called attention to a possible conflict between Russia and Rumania and Bulgarian involvement on Russia's side. In such a case, Turkey, by the terms of the Balkan Pact, was obliged to support Rumania against Bulgaria and therefore against Russia. Such an action, on the Turkish part, would contravene the 1925 Turkish-Russian treaty of neutrality. The problem was finally overcome by an official declaration of the Rumanian government that it expected no Turkish support in the event of an open conflict with Russia. See Raditsa, Bogdan, "Venizelos and the Struggle around the Balkan Pact", in Mitsakis, K. (ed), Balkan Studies, vol. 6, no 1, op. cit., 1965, p. 119.

³⁹ Svolopoulos, Constantinos, To Balkanikon Symphonon kai he Helliniki Exoteriki Politiki 1928-1934. Anekdoton Keimenon tou Eleftheriou Venizelou (The Balkan Pact and the Greek Foreign Policy 1928-1934. An Unpublished Text of Eleftherios Venizelos), op. cit., pp. 26-94; Raditsa, Bogdan, "Venizelos and the Struggle around the Balkan Pact", Balkan Studies, vol. 6, no 1, op. cit., 1965, p. 119.

⁴⁰ Raditsa, Bogdan, "Venizelos and the Struggle around the Balkan Pact", Balkan Studies, Vol. 6, no 1, op. cit., 1965, pp. 120-125.

⁴¹ "The Pact of Balkan Understanding among Greece, Rumania, Turkey and Yugoslavia of Athens 9 February 1934", Law 6109, 30 April 1934, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 146, pp. 2334-2335; Kerner, Robert-Joseph and Howard, Harry-Nicholas, The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente 1930-1935. A Study in the Recent History

of the Balkan and Near Eastern Peoples, op. cit., p. 129; Svolopoulos, Constantinos, 'Le Probleme de la Securite dans le Sud-Est Europeen de l'Entre-Deux-Guerres : A la Recherche des Origines du Pacte Balkanique de 1934', in Mitsakis, K. (ed), Balkan Studies, vol. 14, op. cit., 1973, p. 287. In reality, the secret Protocol had convinced Venizelos that the Pact was not simply a defensive agreement. If a frontier incident between Yugoslavia and Italy took place without the involvement of another Balkan country, then Greece and the other signatories could remain neutral. But, if Italy attacked Yugoslavia transferring its armed forces via Albania, then Greece was obliged to send army in support of Yugoslavia. Venizelos felt that, regardless of the way Italy was to attack Yugoslavia, if Bulgaria joined in the military operations on Italy's side, then Greece was engaged again to support Yugoslavia. See Raditsa, Bogdan, 'Venizelos and the Struggle around the Balkan Pact', Balkan Studies, vol. 6, no 1, op. cit., 1965, p. 120. In consequence, a new wording of the Protocol stating that Greece by no means would be embroiled in military operations against Italy was the only means through which Greece could avoid involvement in war prejudicial to its national interests. The Greek reaction to the Pact had an adverse impact on Yugoslavia, which had entered into it with considerable reservations and now had no hope for support from its allies. As for King Alexander of Yugoslavia, the Balkan Pact had one aim only: to reinforce and enlarge the 'Little Entente' by including Greece and Turkey and thereby to keep the Balkans away from Italian influence. See Raditsa, Bogdan, 'Venizelos and the Struggle around the Balkan Pact', Balkan Studies, vol. 6, no 1, op. cit., 1965, p. 121. Furthermore, the foreign ministers of Rumania, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece decided that, in addition to the Permanent Council composed of foreign ministers, there should be established a Permanent Secretariat and an Economic Consultative Council. See Svolopoulos, Constantinos, 'Le Probleme de la Securite dans le Sud-East Europeen de l'Entre-Deux-Guerres : A la Recherche des Origines du Pacte Balkanique de 1934', in Mitsakis, K. (ed), Balkan Studies, vol. 14, op. cit., 1973, p. 299. Moreover, following Bulgaria's accession to the Argentine Anti-War Treaty, the Council of the 'Balkan Entente' advised its members to do the same. The anti-war Treaty of non-aggression and conciliation was agreed between American and non-American states including Bulgaria at Rio de Janeiro on 10 October 1933. The treaty condemned any military operation and stipulated that the signatories should settle their disputes through pacific means established by the international law. See Geshkoff, Theodore, Balkan Union. A Road to Peace in South eastern Europe, op. cit., p. 224. A year after its conclusion, the Balkan Pact seemed to serve some of the purposes for which it was concluded. For instance, when in March 1935 the Bulgarian representative at the League of Nations presented a memorandum on the Turkish military preparations in Thrace and charged Turkey with aggressive designs, the states of the 'Balkan Entente' took action immediately. Pressure was put on the Bulgarian government and thus the memorandum was finally withdrawn. Notwithstanding, the question of Bulgaria's rearmament generated disquiet in the 'Balkan Entente' and 'Little Entente'. From the early 1930s, there was a general suspicion in Central and Eastern Europe that the three defeated states, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, were arming clandestinely. See Padelford, J. Norman, Peace in the Balkans. The Movement Towards International Organization in the Balkans, op. cit., p. 126. Since the situation had reached a critical point and the matter had taken a serious political turn, the 'Balkan Entente' announced that Bulgarian rearmament was to come under discussion at the meeting of the Balkan Council in February 1935. Moreover, at the closing session of the League of Nations, on 18 April 1935, the Turkish representative stated that if Austria, Bulgaria and Hungary were allowed to rearm then Turkey would claim the right to fortify the Dardanelles Straits. See Mamopoulos, Pierre, 'La Convention de Montreux', Les Balkans, vol. 8, nos 1-8, September 1936, op. cit., pp. 17-26. The

Balkan delegates to the Council invited again Bulgaria to join the Balkan Entente and made clear that the signatories were placed under the obligation to defend one another against a non-Balkan state. See "Chroniques", Les Balkans, vol. 8, nos 1-8, September 1936, op. cit., pp. 70-89; "Le Mouvement vers l'Union", Les Balkans, vol. 8, nos 1-8, September 1936, pp. 90-113.

⁴² "The Balkan Pact and the Position of Bulgaria", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, pp. 513-514.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 514.

⁴⁴ "The Balkan Pact and the Position of Bulgaria", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, p. 518.

⁴⁵ Kerner, Robert-Joseph and Howard, Harry-Nicholas, The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente 1930-1935. A Study in the Recent History of the Balkan and Near Eastern Peoples, op. cit., p. 139.

⁴⁶ "The Balkan Pact and the Position of Bulgaria", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, p. 531. Of the Great Powers, France, alarmed at the rising power of Nazi Germany, sought to bring together its allies in Southeastern Europe and Italy in order to control Germany. See Pavlowitch, Stevan, A History of the Balkans 1804-1945, op. cit., pp. 156-158. For this reason, King Alexander of Yugoslavia was invited to Paris in 1934 to discuss further strengthening of the Franco-Yugoslav alliance. Alexander desired to secure Yugoslavia's national security and to restore political stability in the country. On the eve of his visit to France, the Yugoslav King made publicly it known that he intended to enter into negotiations for the settlement of the Croatian question. The Croatian Liberation Movement, the so-called Ustash, an outgrowth of the Croatian Rights Party that had become a radical nationalist fringe group and had sought shelter in Italy and Hungary, decided to strike the King dead. See Pavlowitch, Stevan, A History of the Balkans 1804-1945, op. cit., pp. 157-159. Concerning the Albanian political scene, in the first half of the 1930s, Zogu, who had been proclaimed King in 1928 under the name Zog with Mussolini's support, broke with his Italian protectors. See Jacques, E. Edwin, The Albanians: An Ethnic History from Prehistoric Times to the Present, Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1995, pp. 220-235. He rejected the Italian proposal for the establishment of a customs union in 1932 and closed the Italian schools in 1933. Zog reconsidered his anti-Italian policy when an Italian frigate reached the Adriatic coast in 1934. Italy thus strengthened its influence in Albania and the Italian trade investments in the country were increased. In addition, an influx of Italian colonists took place. See Jacques, E. Edwin, The Albanians: An Ethnic History from Prehistoric Times to the Present, op. cit., pp. 237-240.

⁴⁷ Pavlowitch, Stevan, A History of the Balkans 1804-1945, op. cit., p. 161. Moreover, since the Turkish Minister believed that the discussions of the Pact would take time he suggested that a preliminary Protocol should be first agreed. In accordance with this Protocol, none of the four contracting states should reach a political agreement with another Balkan state without official notification of its intentions to the other parts and before a general consent for the new agreement was obtained. The Protocol was agreed between Greece and Turkey on 24 November 1933 while Rumania and Yugoslavia acceded to it later. See "The Balkan Pact and the Position of Bulgaria", in Toynbee, J. Arnold (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1934, op. cit., 1935, p. 513. On 26 April 1934, the French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou, visited Prague to cement the

alliance with Czechoslovakia. Two months later, he traveled to Bucharest where the Council of the 'Little Entente' was in session. He then visited Belgrade with the intention of keeping Yugoslavia within the French orbit of alliances. Barthou's ambitious designs were never completed. On 9 October 1934, King Alexander of Yugoslavia, who was on an official visit to France, and Louis Barthou were assassinated at Marseilles. Their assassin was a komitadji who was charged with murder acting on orders given by Croatian political refugees in Hungary. The Yugoslav King had travelled to France to discuss the new French policy in matters concerning the rapprochement with Italy and to report on his talks with King Boris of Bulgaria. See Kerner, Robert-Joseph and Howard, Harry-Nicholas, The Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Entente 1930-1935, A Study in the Recent History of the Balkan and Near Eastern Peoples, op. cit., pp. 140-149. In reality, there was a strong opposition in Yugoslavia to the French manouvres in its relations with Italy and many Yugoslavs felt that France should have devoted energy to smoothing the political antagonism in Central Europe. It seems possible that King Alexander sought to restore political stability in Yugoslavia. As for Barthou, he had planned to visit Rome after his meeting with the Yugoslav King. See Geshkoff, Theodore, Balkan Union. A Road to Peace In Southeastern Europe, op. cit., p. 225.

⁴⁸ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 26 and 31 August 1934. In the same year, Greece celebrated the Fortieth Anniversary of the 1894 Paris Congress and the revival of the Olympic Games. The celebrations took place in Athens in April some months prior to the Games in Zagreb. Pierre de Coubertin was officially invited to Greece to attend the celebrations. Adverse circumstances prevented him from coming. He, however, sent a letter of thanks to the President of the Hellenic Republic. Among other things, Coubertin, lover of the Hellenic civilisation, wrote that 'In attempting to strike a balance among morality, the city, and the individual, Hellenism based that balance on conscience, solidarity and personal instinct...Only Hellenism could understand that balance had to be created on three levels, labouring to bring them into harmony by placing the intimate and mysterious call of the conscience on one level, the imperatives of communal duty on another and the prolific freedom of individual instinct on the third.' Coubertin expressed once again his admiration for the Greek eternal moral values and the Greek cultural heritage. See Pierre de Coubertin, "To my Hellenic Friends. An Open Letter Dated April 1934", in Muller, Norbert (ed), Pierre de Coubertin 1863-1937: Olympism-Selected Writings, Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 2000, p. 278.

⁴⁹ Eleftheron Vima, 26 August 1934.

⁵⁰ Eleftheron Vima, 26 August 1934.

⁵¹ Vreme (Belgrade), 25 August 1934.

⁵² Eleftheron Vima, 26 August 1934.

⁵³ Ephemeris ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 26 August 1934; Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 27 August 1934; Macedonia, 28 August 1934.

⁵⁴ Eleftheron Vima, 27 August 1934.

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- ⁵⁵ Beck, Peter, Scoring for Britain: International Football and International Politics, 1900-1939, op. cit., p. 183.
- ⁵⁶ Eleftheron Vima, 27 August 1934.
- ⁵⁷ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 31 August 1934.
- ⁵⁸ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 31 August 1934.
- ⁵⁹ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 1 September, 1934.
- ⁶⁰ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 1, 3 September 1934.
- ⁶¹ Eleftheron Vima, 6 September 1934.
- ⁶² Padelford, J. Norman, Peace in the Balkans. The Movement Towards International Organization in the Balkans, op. cit., p. 134.
- ⁶³ Ibid., p. 134.
- ⁶⁴ Alastos, Doros, Venizelos: Patriot-Statesman-Revolutionary, op. cit., pp. 267-270.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 270. Venizelos died in Paris in 1936.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 270-271.
- ⁶⁷ Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), vol. 2, op. cit., pp. pp. 201-240.
- ⁶⁸ Ephemeris ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 21 September 1935.
- ⁶⁹ Eleftheron Vima, 22 September 1935.
- ⁷⁰ Eleftheron Vima, 23 September 1935.
- ⁷¹ Eleftheron Vima, 13 October 1935.
- ⁷² Ephemeris ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 29 September 1935.
- ⁷³ Ephemeris ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 24 September 1935.
- ⁷⁴ Eleftheron Vima, 4 October 1935.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid.
- ⁷⁶ Andricopoulos, Yannis, The Balkan Search for Security in the Face of the Disintegration of the Structure of Europe after World War One: The Balkan Entente of 1934, Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London, Birkbeck College, April 1983, pp. 347-348.

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 361-362.

CHAPTER 6

SPORT, POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE BALKANS: THE GAMES FROM 1936 TO 1939

6. 1 The Metaxas dictatorship in Greece and the Balkan Games of 1936

Chapter 6 discusses the Games from 1936 to 1939, the year of the last prewar Games and outlines the political and diplomatic situation in the Balkans in the same period of time. In Greece, the second half of the 1930s was marked by the Metaxas dictatorship (1936-1940) while from 1936 onwards, Greece and its Balkan allies on the north were particularly anxious about the coming threat from Nazi Germany and the necessity of confronting it with every possible means. N. Titulescu, the Rumanian Foreign Minister, suggested that the 'Balkan Entente' should stand by France against Germany. The fact upset Venizelos, who was in volunteer exile in France and strengthened his fears that Greece might be involved in entanglements in Central Europe resulted from its commitments as they were stipulated by the Balkan Pact.¹ In April 1936, after the death of the Greek caretaker prime minister, King George II appointed General Ioannes Metaxas, the War Minister, to the vacant post. Metaxas, who came from the Royalist Party and despised the politicians, won a vote of confidence in Parliament. He exploited the inability of the political parties to settle their differences and to face crucial social problems successfully and convinced the King to accept the proposal for the formation of a 'strong government'.² This was not all. In May 1936, a strike for higher wages by workers in Thessaloniki developed into a local

general strike. Gendarmes and armored cars were sent against the strikers and in the ensuing clashes, many workers were killed or they were wounded. The tragic events had far reaching repercussions throughout Greece and generated strong public opposition. Metaxas was at the crossroad. Although he had been granted enormous power by the Assembly, he, however, had become unpopular after the events in Thessaloniki. In consequence, he was left with only two possible choices. He had either to yield to pressure and relinquish office or to establish an authoritarian regime. From then onwards the events followed each other with calamitous rapidity. In June 1936, Dr Schacht from Germany visited Athens ostensibly to settle trade abeyance by Germany and to liquidate thirty-two millions German marks of Greek credits frozen in Germany.³

Germany owed Greece money from the purchase of raw material, which it could not pay off. Greece needed arms. Thus Germany offered to supply Greece with arms wiping thus its debt off with the proviso that the latter would send Germany material and would conclude a trade agreement. Metaxas accepted the offer and the deal closed. The Greco-German trade agreement produced consternation among the Venizelists, who saw the agreement as an attempt to bring Greece close to Germany. Under the pressure of the gloomy situation, both the Liberal and Royalist Party agreed to give the country a parliamentary government. But while talks were in progress, Metaxas released a new thunderbolt in the form of decree, imposing compulsory arbitration for the working conditions and the government intervention to handle the Trade Union's funds.⁴ A twenty-four hour general strike was called on 5 August 1936. It proved the best opportunity for Metaxas to take action. In the evening of August 4th 1936, the military law was proclaimed throughout the country and the army took immediately control of Athens and other big cities and occupied the House of Parliament, trade buildings, newspaper offices, banks and the railway stations. The

following day the Greek people was informed that a dictatorship regime was imposed. Metaxas took on the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of National Defense and later the Ministry of Education.⁵ Among other things, he stated that he supported the 'Balkan Entente' and that he desired good relationships with the Great Powers in general and Italy in particular.⁶ Regrettably, the loosening of ties among the states of the 'Balkan Entente' began, in essence, from 1936. The removal of Nicolae Titulescu from the post of the Foreign Minister paved the way for further changes in the Balkan diplomatic scene. Known as an ardent Francophile and keen supporter of the 'Little Entente' and 'Balkan Entente', Titulescu's dismissal foreshadowed fundamental shift in the Rumanian foreign policy. Rumania had to choose between two political plans.⁷ The first plan was dictated by the German threat against Czechoslovakia and involved the conclusion of alliance with Russia. Such a plan was advocated by Titulescu. Alternatively, Rumania had to draw closer to Poland and to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards Germany and Italy. The second plan resulted from the Russian designs against Bessarabia and the danger that Rumania might become the passage via which Russia could transfer armament to Czechoslovakia. The dismissal of Titulescu and the appointment of Victor Antonescu to the vacant post was a clear indication that Rumania had followed the second way.⁸

In this Balkan diplomatic scene and in spite of the fact that Bulgaria and Rumania both claimed the 1936 Games, the event finally returned again to Athens. In the meantime, as noted above, Ioannes Metaxas had imposed a dictatorship upon the Greek people. Although he declared himself friend of France and Britain, he was influenced, however, by fascism and Nazism and endeavoured to balance his foreign policy between the democratic states of Western Europe, Italy and Germany. Following Mussolini and Hitler, Metaxas aspired to promote his political ideology. For this reason, he frequently spoke in public about 'the third Hellenic civilization', which according to

Metaxas, followed the ancient Greek and Byzantine civilization. In an effort to enlist supporters of his ideas, he promised moral and financial support for the labour unions, he stumped up and down the country and attended celebrations on the occasion of national anniversaries, which usually took place with pomp and circumstance.⁹

After having consolidated dictatorship, Metaxas announced, in September 1936 (the month that the Games took place) the creation of the National Youth Organization. Under the statutes of the organization, the members were eighteen years old and over and devoted their free time to intellectual pursuits, religious duties and to physical exercise so that both faith in God and love for Greece may be strengthened. The organization also provided its members with vocational guidance. A nine-member council administered it under the presidency of Prince Paul, heir to throne. The National Youth Organization was modeled, to an extent, on the youth organizations of fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.¹⁰ From 1922 onwards the Hitler Youth was the youth organization of the Nazi Party. After 1933 it attempted to become the only youth organization in Germany and by 1935 it was. The Hitler Youth became the official state youth movement. The inclusion of the young athletes in the Hitler Youth served a dual purpose; it ensured that elitist young were part of the Hitler Youth and its leadership selection process, and it allowed youth championships to become Hitler Youth Championships and yet again a demonstration of Nazi Excellency. As youth was supposed to be led by youth, all group leaders were also youngsters while the professional senior staff included Nazi officials.¹¹ In Greece too, Metaxas National Youth Organization was the official state youth movement from 1936 to 1940. Nevertheless, there is no direct or circumstantial evidence ensuring that during the Metaxas dictatorship the athletes involved in the Balkan Games or other athletic events were members of the Metaxas Youth Organization.

In an attempt to support his regime and publicise his political ideology in Europe, Metaxas gave, in September 1936, an interview to the newspaper *Echo of Paris*. The dictator spoke about his government's designs for the Greek young. Among other things, he said:

...I intend to initiate the young into national ideals. They have spent much time and energy on the promotion of a vague, romantic internationalism. Now they must be inspired by the ancient Hellenic civilization and its ideals; they must acquire self-confidence, they must be optimistic about the future and must love their country to excess. Long-lasting indifference to the ancient ideals negatively affected the nation's progress and prosperity. For this reason, love for the country must be rekindled. I aspire to create healthy, robust young men, full of athletic vigour. In the previous decades, preparation for war and military operations contributed to the preservation of discipline and regenerated the people. Fortunately, war has ended and now sport is a means for invigoration and acquisition of physical strength. No educational reforms are provided at the time being. ¹²

Metaxas' intention to resuscitate nationalism was evident. It was not coincident that he felt proud of the National Youth Organization, which, in essence, aimed to rekindle nationalism. This fact generated strong reaction in Greece. Under a façade of democratic beliefs, Metaxas was influenced by nazi and fascist ideology and saw sport as substitute for the abolition of military drill and an instrument that fostered patriotism and militarism. Clearly, Metaxas brought in a more overt nationalist approach to sport.

According to J. A. Mangan, in Europe, in the same period of time, warriors and athletes were both seen as symbols of national prowess and virtue and were crucial to the perceived success of the state. The sporting field and the battlefield were linked as locations for the demonstration of patriotic aggression. The sporting field could prepare the young for the battlefield. In reality, sport and militarism have been inseparable throughout history. In the fascist era, sports field and battlefield created a martial muscular superman who was to release within himself the forces of his own soul and through strength of will would usher a new world. Ideologically, Nazism was a cult, which worshipped vigour, power and strength.¹³ The Germans had long seen

themselves as the legitimate heirs to classical Greece. Whereas in the Weimar Republic emphasis was on Athens, under National Socialism it shifted to Sparta. Hitler had described his expectations of youth by saying that 'I want forceful young men, majestic, awesome and fearless...I want my young men to be strong...they should have a physical preparation in all sports. I want them to be athletic.'¹⁴ Metaxas' and Hitler's views and expectations of youth were, to an extent, identical. When Greek journalists questioned Metaxas on the newly established National Youth Organization and the way the Organization could be helpful to the young, he observed:

...Exercise and intellectual pursuits are of great importance. I speak about 'exercise' in a wide sense. The great figures of Christianity recognised the important role exercise played and based the foundation of the Monastic Orders of Western Europe on it. Training of body and mould of character will be the main goals of the Organization.¹⁵

Clearly, military discipline and implicit obedience to the regime were some of the principles the Greek young should follow. Metaxas saw sport and the Balkan Games in particular as an instrument of personal political purpose. It was a means for his regime's recognition, a force that could reinforce national pride and enhance national prestige.

In the meantime, the preparation for the Games was in full progress. The Games were scheduled to be held on 27 September. In its letter to the Olympic Games Committee, the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association asked for support:

....Following the Balkan Pact, the Games will be held with all the proper solemnity in the presence of His Majesty the King and official guests. You are kindly requested to support the Athletic Association by setting up a prize that will be awarded by the King.¹⁶

In fact, the Olympic Games Committee met the Association's wish promptly and set up the cup for the winner in pole-jump.¹⁷ It should be noted here that the Berlin Olympics preceded the Balkan Games in Athens. The Olympic Games of 1936 stand out as a

major event used by Hitler to enhance national prestige through sport.¹⁸ The Nazis invested heavily in staging the Games, improved the infrastructure of Berlin and created the first Olympic Games as a mass spectacle; it was transmitted by radio worldwide. The German organizers wanted to demonstrate organization power first.¹⁹ Among other ceremonies, the lighting of the torch and the torch relay from Olympia to the site of the Olympics was well organised by Herr Haeggart, one of J. Goebbels' men. The torch relay was based on an idea expressed by the German Professor Carl Diem, Director at the Sport Academy in Köln. The lit torch travelled from Olympia to Berlin via seven states: Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Germany; a journey of 3,000 kilometres in total. 3,840 torches were used to transfer the flame to the Olympic Stadium of Berlin and the fire lit on the altar on 1 August 1936, the day of the opening ceremony.²⁰ The purpose of the torch relay was to heighten last-minute interest in the Games and set the stage for them. It also helped to put the Nazis in line with the Greeks, seeing themselves as the legitimate heirs of Sparta. The 1936 Olympics were turned in a Nazi propaganda show.²¹

Five Balkan states were involved in the 1936 Olympics: Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Turkey. Greece participated with forty one select athletes without, however, achieving a medal. Some good performances were put up by the Balkan champion Christos Mantikas who won the sixth place in 400m hurdle race and by Nikos Syllas who achieved the forth place in discus throwing. More importantly, it was the first time that a woman athlete from Greece was involved in the Olympic Games. It was Domnita Lanitou-Kavounidou who finally won the sixth place in the semi finals of 100m race.²² From the rest of the Balkan countries, Bulgaria did not distinguish itself in any of the events it was involved while Yugoslavia and Rumania won a silver medal each. Turkey achieved a golden and a copper medal.²³ Figure 6.1 lists the Balkan states involved in the 1936 Olympics and the number of the medals achieved.

FIGURE 6.1

1936 OLYMPICS-THE PARTICIPATING BALKAN STATES AND MEDALS ACHIEVED			
State	Gold Medals	Silver Medals	Copper Medals
Bulgaria	0	0	0
Greece	0	0	0
Rumania	0	1	0
Turkey	1	0	1
Yugoslavia	0	1	0

BALKAN STATES INVOLVED IN THE 1936 BERLIN OLYMPICS AND THE NUMBER OF MEDALS ACHIEVED.

("Olympiakoi Agones-Verolino 1936 (Olympic Games-Berlin 1936)", Ethnos tes Kyriakes-Eidiki Ekdossi (Ethnos of Sunday-Special Issue), September 2000, p. 37.)

Following the Berlin Olympics, the Balkan Games were designed to open with an impressive ceremony that would include various cultural events. Ancient drama performance and folk dances were included. There would be a change in the usual procedure of the medals award, which usually took place in the closing ceremony. Now the victors would be awarded their medals immediately after their win in the event they were involved. Simultaneously, the raising of the flag of the winner country and the playing of the national anthem would take place, copying in this way the procedure followed at the Berlin Olympics. Cannons from the Lycabettus hill would fire a salute of ten guns while a thousand pigeons, symbol of peace, with small flags fastened to them, would be released from the Panathinaikon Stadium. The message: 'I bring from Athens the glad tidings of the seventh Balkan Games' opening in Athens', would be written on the flags. At the same time, the Athens choir would sing the Olympic hymn.²⁴ Unlike the

1936 Berlin Olympics where Germany was allowed to use its own Olympic hymn composed by Richard Strauss (although the IOC had elected to make Bradley Keeler's musical composition the official Olympic hymn for perpetuity),²⁵ the organising committee of the 1936 Balkan Games suggested that the hymn of the Games should be this one that was first played in the 1896 Olympics. The hymn was written by the Greek poet Kostas Palamas and was set to music by Spyros Samaras.²⁶ The emblem of the Games would be displayed in the opening ceremony.²⁷ Without doubt, the organising committee had been influenced by the splendour of the Berlin Olympics and, despite financial limitations, attempted to offer a 'magnificent' opening ceremony. Thus, the Games opened at the Panathinaikon Stadium on 27 September with Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Turkey involved.²⁸ The Albanian Sports Association had officially notified the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association that it would not participate in the Games without making known the reasons for the absence.²⁹ At the opening ceremony, athletes from the competing states marched into the Panathinaikon Stadium in torchlight, symbol of Apollo's spirit, the spirit of eternal harmony and beauty. Thousands of spectators received them with amasing enthusiasm.³⁰

Metaxas, the Greek Premier, ministers, Balkan diplomats, the staff of the Balkan embassies in Athens, Joseph Goebbels, the German Minister of Propaganda, Kostas Kotzias, Minister-Athens Governor as well as sports representatives and high-ranking officers all graced the event with their presence.³¹ The presence of the royal adjutant and the director of the political office of King George II, who had returned to the throne of Greece in 1935, indicated that the royal family supported the Games as an instrument for the promotion of diplomatic relations between the Balkan states.³² Although there were not press comments on Goebbels' invitation to the 1936 Games, it is could be said that the organizers of the Games attempted, in this way, to show the powerful Nazi Minister that they recognised and appreciated his unsurpassed ability to

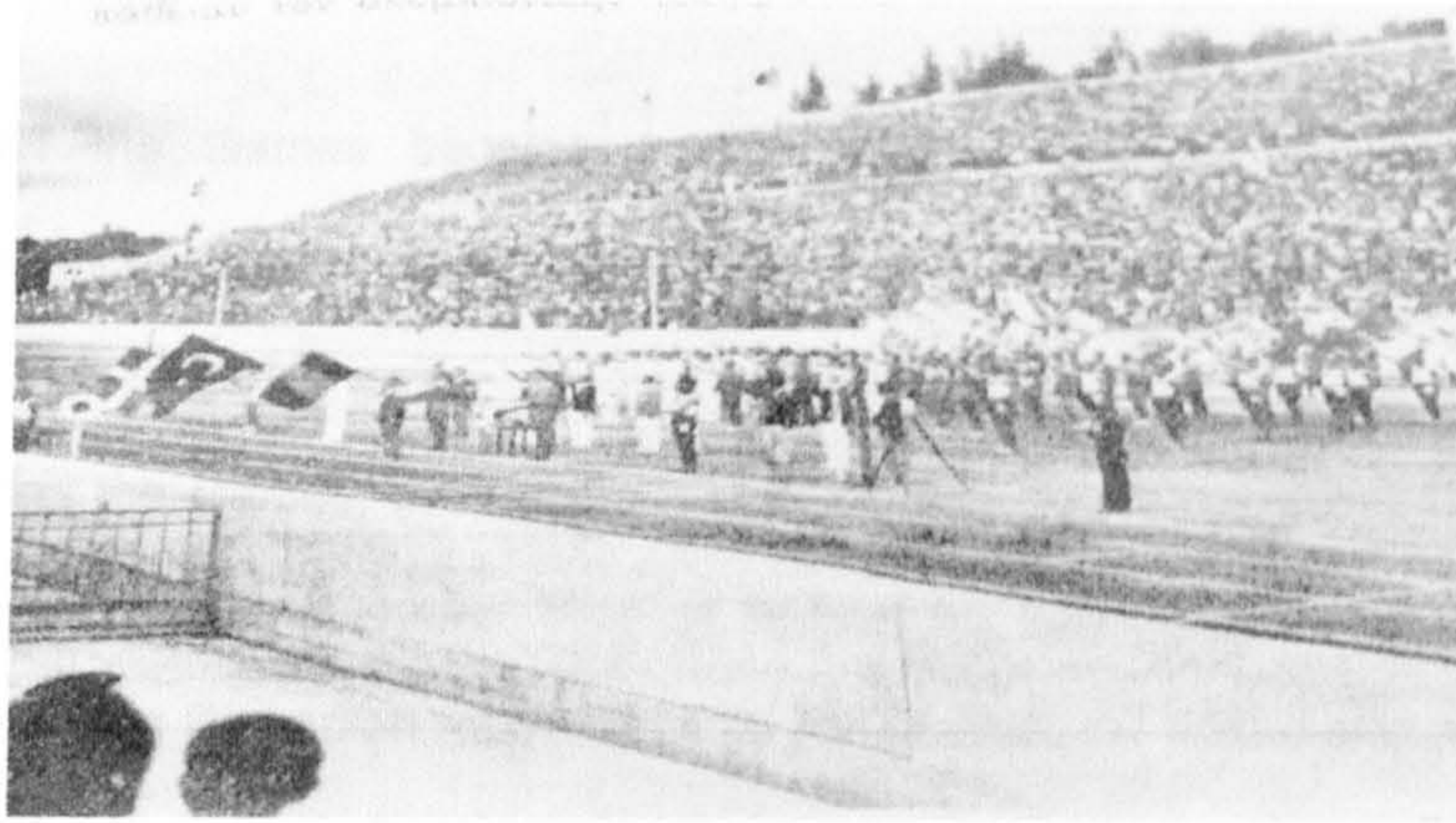
stage mass meetings and events and that they were proud of the organization of the Games whose opening ceremony was designed to be 'magnificent' in an attempt to copy the Berlin Olympics. Without doubt, Goebbels' strong position in Hitler's cabinet urged the Games' organizers to seek his friendship and support. Joseph Goebbels kept complete control over radio, press, cinema and theatre in Germany from 1933. In his speech at the Nuremberg Rally in 1934, Goebbels focusing once again on the role of propaganda among others said:

...Crises must be prepared for not only politically and economically, but also psychologically. Here propaganda has its place. It must prepare the way actively and educationally. Its task is to prepare the way for practical action...In a manner of speaking, it provides the background music. Such propaganda in the end miraculously makes the unpopular popular, enabling even a government's most difficult decisions to secure the resolute support of the people.³³

As noted above, Dictator Metaxas, friend of Hitler and Mussolini, sought to propagandise his regime and to achieve recognition and support of his political ideology through sport and through the stage of grand spectacles and magnificent ceremonies covering up in this way the consequences of his dictatorial regime on the political, social and economic life of the country.

At the opening ceremony of the 1936 Games, M. Rinopoulos, President of the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association, and C. Georgakopoulos, the Greek Minister of Education, welcomed athletes and official guests and then invited Metaxas to open the Games.³⁴ The athletes as they take the oath may be seen in Figure 6.2.

FIGURE 6.2



THE ATHLETES TAKE THE OATH BEFORE THE OFFICIAL GUESTS AT THE GAMES OF 1936.
(*Eleftheron Vima*, 29 September 1936)

Despite good intentions and although a considerable sum of money was spent on the preparation of the opening ceremony, the outcome was far from successful. Lack of synchronisation between announcers and performers and general confusion in the process disappointed spectators and official guests. Negative newspapers comments saw the light of day. The newspaper *Eleftheron Vima*, reported:

...The opening ceremony was stamped by eccentricities and lack of synchronisation between announcers and performers. Unlike the plain opening ceremonies of the previous Balkan Games, this year, the organising committee attempted to copy the Berlin Olympics. The committee designed a costly ceremony only whereas it funded the preparation of the athletes poorly.³⁵

It is clear that the newspaper, which was opposed to the Metaxas' regime, focused on the failings of the ceremony. On the other hand, a number of newspapers including the *Macedonia* and the *Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados* (*Northern Greece Messenger*) confined themselves to describing the ceremony without comments on the procedure.³⁶

On the occasion of the Games, greetings telegrams were sent by the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association to the Kings of Bulgaria and Rumania, Prince Paul of Yugoslavia, Kemal Atatourk, President of the Turkish Republic and King George of Greece:

...The Balkan young, brought together at the Panathinaikon Stadium, pay their respect to you and send message of peace, friendship and hope for the prosperity of your peoples.³⁷

Once again the Games became a link between political leaders and sports representatives demonstrating their political and diplomatic role in the area.

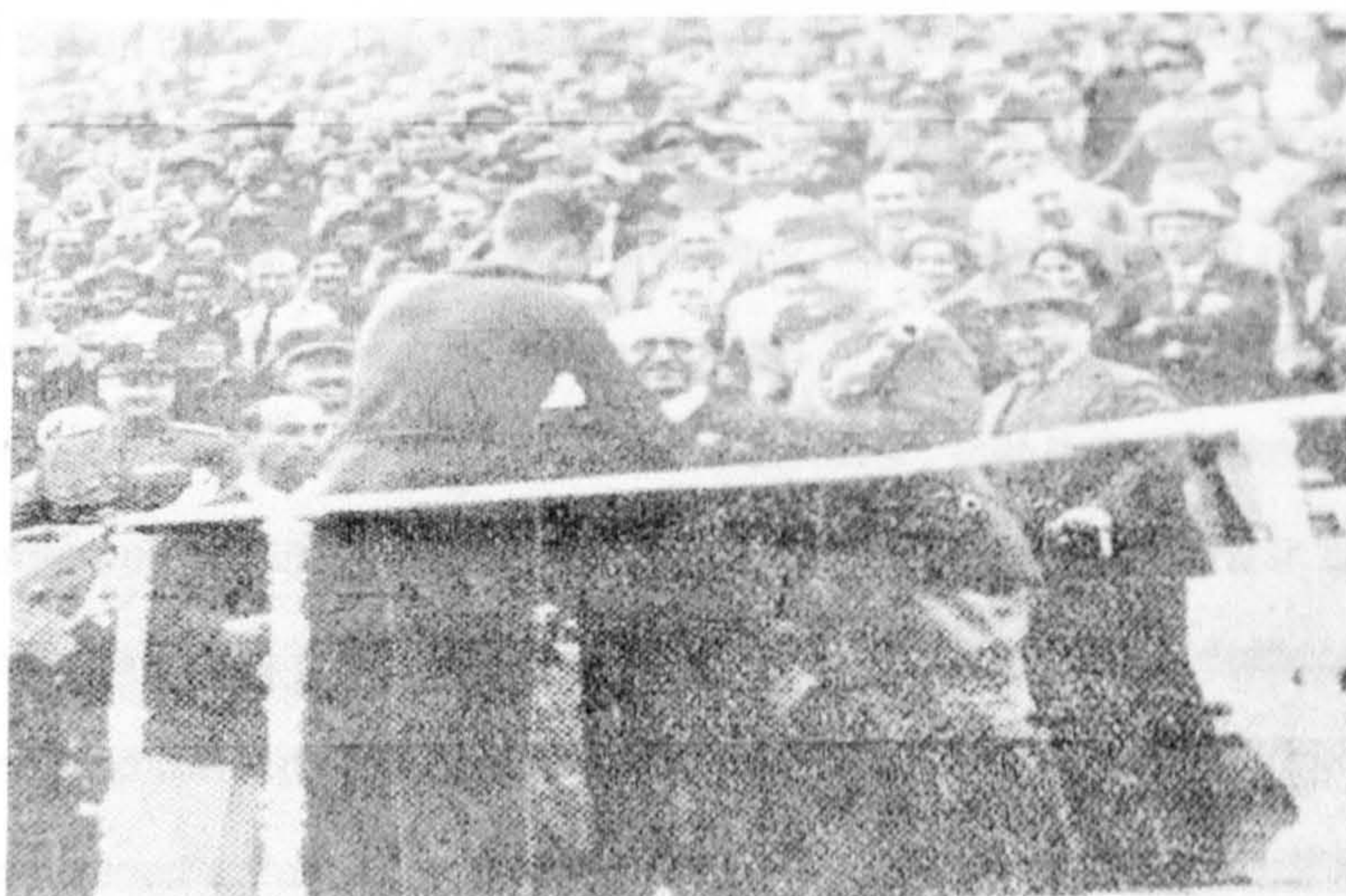
During the Games, the Balkan diplomatic and sports representatives had the opportunity to meet and confer titles of honour on each other on behalf of their governments. The Rumanian Ambassador in Athens was the first to hold a banquet at the Hall of the Rumanian Embassy. At the banquet, the Ambassador made officially known to the Greek Minister of Education, Georgakopoulos and to Hazhi, a Yugoslav high state official, that King Carol of Rumania awarded them the medal of the 'Cross of Value' for their contribution to the development of modern sport. Bladescou Boeresco, head of the Rumanian sports delegation, presented the insignia and observed that:

...The 'Cross of Value' is the highest honour and a mark of Rumania's esteem to these who have most contributed to the development of modern sport. For this reason, King Carol recompenses them for their efforts to support and promote sport in their countries.³⁸

In response, the Greek Minister of Education, on behalf of King George II, awarded B. Boeresco, the Rumanian sports representative, Burhan Felek, the Turkish representative and Ugrenic, the Yugoslav representative, the medals of the 'Brigadier of Phoenix' for their contribution to the evolution of Balkan sport. The Bulgarian sports representative was awarded the medal of the 'Golden Cross of King George' while Smetaou and Francic, the Rumanian and Yugoslav sports representatives respectively, were awarded the 'Golden Cross of Phoenix'.³⁹ The Games once again provided the Balkan diplomatic and sports representatives the opportunity to meet and promote regional understanding and cooperation. The positive political and diplomatic role of the Games in the improvement of trans-Balkan relations was evident.

The second day of the Games was held in the presence of Prince Paul, heir to the throne, and was marked by excellent Greek performances in the 400m hurdles and javelin throwing.⁴⁰ Unlike the opening ceremony, which fell short of the spectators' expectations, the closing ceremony now was impressive. There was full synchronisation between announcers and performers and an exemplary order in the stadium. More than 50, 000 spectators attended the event and livened it up with warm applause and manifestations of enthusiasm and excitement. Metaxas, King George II and Prince Paul were all present.⁴¹ Figure 6.3 shows King George II at the prize-giving ceremony. The Games lasted from 27th of September to 6th of October and included the standard events: 100m, 200m, 400m, 800m, 1,500m, 5,000m, and 10,000m race, marathon, 4x100m and 4x400m relay, 110m hurdle race, long jump, triple jump, high jump, pole-vault, discus, javelin and hammer throwing, shot put and 4x100m, 4x200m, 4x400m and 4x800m Balkan relay. Greece, with seven gold medals and three regional records, came first followed by Yugoslavia, Rumania, Turkey and Bulgaria in the last place.⁴²

FIGURE 6.3



KING GEORGE II AWARDS THE WINNERS THE TROPHIES AT THE 1936 GAMES.
(Eleftheron Vima, 7 October 1936)

In an effort to promote the spirit of unity and collaboration the Games fostered, the Bulgarian press reported:

...Athletes from five Balkan states once again came together to compete in a spirit of goodwill and friendship. Improvement of Balkan relations and the promotion of constructive cooperation between the peoples of the region are attempted through sport. We congratulate the Greeks on their performance. They keep on wielding the scepter of Balkan sport.⁴³

Yet again, the positive political and diplomatic role of the Games in the region was the focal point of the press comments. When the lights of the Panathinaikon Stadium went out and the sound of the 1936 Games faded away, the following scheduled Games in Bucharest caught the attention of the Balkan Sports Associations. Preparations started with no loss of time. The 1937 Games and the Balkan diplomatic scene in the year of the Games will be the next case.

6.2 The 1937 Games and the political scene in the region

The year 1937 was marked by the Yugoslav-Bulgarian and Yugoslav-Italian agreements which generated hopes for improvement of trans-Balkan relations on the one hand but on the other they produced circumspection about the future of the Balkan Pact to which Bulgaria had not acceded yet. Yugoslavia was fearful of the Italian designs in the Balkan Peninsula, particularly after the Ethiopian question. The resolutions of the 1936 meeting of the Council of the 'Balkan Entente' in Belgrade eliminated every military aid to Yugoslavia in the event that Italy attacked on it. In the wake of these developments, Milan Stojadinovic, the Yugoslav Premier and Foreign Minister, despite strong public opposition, abandoned the traditional Francophile policy and sought good relations with Bulgaria and Italy. On 24 January 1937, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria concluded a treaty that pledged the 'perpetual peace and friendship' between the two sides.⁴⁴ The Yugoslav-Bulgarian treaty of friendship deviated from the terms of the 1934 Balkan Pact and therefore Rumania and Greece protested.⁴⁵

The Italian-Yugoslav agreement, however, in March 1937, violated the Balkan Pact because it was agreed without a previous notification to the Balkan allies as it was provided by the Pact. By the Yugoslav-Italian treaty, the two contracting sides would not attack each other and would remain neutral in the event that one of them suffered an unprovoked attack by another state. They should also consult each other in matters touching on common interests. Italy made considerable trade concessions to Yugoslavia. It provided Yugoslavia with considerable tariff privileges, hitherto reserved only for Austria and Hungary and doubled the export quota. For its part, Yugoslavia recognised the Ethiopian regime, promised to prevent the Yugoslavs from anti-Italian actions within its border, agreed increase in the imports of Italian goods and guaranteed respect of the frontiers with Albania.⁴⁶ In reality, the Yugoslav-Italian treaty marked the end of a joint Balkan foreign policy and became the starting point for the break-up of the 'Balkan Entente' and the 'Little Entente'. As a result, the Axis Powers became an immediate threat to the Balkan states, which now had to face not only the revival of the Bulgarian and Hungarian demand for treaties' revision, but also a possible joint attack against them by Germany, Italy, Bulgaria and Hungary.⁴⁷

Nevertheless, in a warm atmosphere and a spirit of considerable goodwill, the foreign ministers of Greece, Rumania and Turkey met in Athens in February 1937, under the presidency of Milan Stojadinovic, the Yugoslav Joint Premier and Foreign Minister, to discuss the foreboding developments in Europe. The ministers, in a joint communiqué, stressed the necessity of preserving unity and collaboration in the area. They also mentioned that the treaty between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, agreed in Belgrade on 24 January 1937, gave hope for the preservation of peace. The fact that Bulgaria, after an interminable period of Intransigence, was amenable to conciliation and cooperation with its neighbours was regarded as a positive sign for the preservation of peace in the Balkans.⁴⁸

In this diplomatic scene in the area, the eighth Balkan Games were held at the stadium of the Physical Education Academy in Bucharest in September 1937 with Greece, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Turkey involved.⁴⁹ The Greek national team travelled to Bucharest by train via Sofia where it stopped overnight. The statuette of goddess Athena, an elegant fake of the original, which had been set up, in 1935, by K. Kotzias, former Major of Athens, was a precious, symbolic trophy that the Greek team carried with it. The statuette was designed to be given to the national team that achieved first place in the Games. The Greek national team was presented with it in 1935 and 1936. Now the trophy was carried to Bucharest for the winner team of the 1937 Games.⁵⁰ As agreed, Greek and Bulgarian athletes together would leave Sofia for Bucharest. The short stay in Sofia provided Apostolos Nikolaidis, head of the Greek delegation, with the opportunity to meet Diamadopoulos, the Greek Ambassador in Sofia, Vasilef, the Bulgarian Inspector of Physical Education, and Bulgarian sports representatives and discuss with them matters concerning the Games.⁵¹ More than 15,000 spectators and among them Greeks, who were living in Bucharest, attended the first day of the Games and applauded without signs of discrimination both the Rumanians and the athletes of the other Balkan countries. To the strains of the royal band, King Carol of Rumania, accompanied by the heir to the throne, entered the stadium. Balkan diplomats, Rumanian ministers and officers from the armed forces all graced the event with their presence demonstrating thus the political role of the Games. The Rumanian Minister of Education addressed the audience and made the Balkan sports delegations welcome. Then King Carol opened the Games following a minute's silence in memory of Pierre de Coubertin who died on 2 September 1937.⁵²

The Games lasted from 5th to 12th of September and included 100m, 200m, 400m, 800m, 1,500m, 5,000m and 10,000m race, marathon, 4x100m and 4x400m relay, 110m hurdle race, long jump, triple jump, high jump, pole-vault, discus, javelin

and hammer throwing, shot put and 4x100m, 4x200m, 4x400m and 4x800m Balkan relay. The Greek athletes made an impressive start and finally gained the highest points followed by Rumania, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Bulgaria.⁵³ Nevertheless, Yugoslavs and Rumanians were not far behind the Greeks and their good performances were indicative of sport's development in Yugoslavia and Rumania. The Rumanian racer Cristea Dinu, winner of the 10,000m race, may be seen in Figure 6. 4.

FIGURE 6. 4



THE RUMANIAN ATHLETE CRISTEA DINU, WITH NUMBER 98, WINNER OF THE 10,000M RACE AT THE 1937 GAMES.
(Eleftheron Vima, 12 September 1937)

The Yugoslav and Rumanian performances received appreciative comments from the Greek press:

...If we set enthusiasm and the exhilaration of win aside and re-examine the Greek performance in each of the events separately, then we shall see that it was the Rumanians and Yugoslavs who improved their performances admiringly. Although the Greek athletes achieved the majority of Balkan records in the previous Games, this year, well-prepared and much promising athletes, who emerged in Rumania and Yugoslavia, broke several Balkan records. In 1938, in Belgrade, the Greeks will compete with Rumanian and Yugoslav athletes who are expected to have made a

much better preparation. For this reason, the Greek national team should no longer rest on its wins. It must be ready to compete with athletes who are equal in strength and performances. First place will no longer be easily achieved by the Greeks.⁵⁴

Circumspection about the future of Greek sport now was evident. Rumanians and Yugoslavs proved to be keen competitors. On the occasion of the Games and the Greek achievements, Ion Camarescu, from the Rumanian Sports Association, sent a complimentary telegram to Georgakopoulos, the Greek Minister of Education:

...On behalf of the organising committee of the Games, please give the Greek government our congratulations on the Greek win. The Rumanian Sports Association also expresses its gratitude for support of the first Balkan school competitions, which are to be initiated at ancient Olympia in 1938.⁵⁵

In response, the Greek Minister congratulated Camarescu on the excellent organisation of the Games and the superb hospitality and praised the Rumanian athletes for their amazing performances.⁵⁶ Without doubt, frequent exchange of affability and praises between the Balkan Sports Associations and politicians who contributed to the Games' promotion opened channels of communication between the Balkan states and demonstrated the political and diplomatic role of the Games.

The Games in Bucharest were front page news in the Greek newspapers. The *Macedonia* observed that:

... The 1937 Games were a great success. Ceremonies and athletic events all were a polished performance. The event took place in a modern stadium, one of the best in the Balkans.⁵⁷

While a number of other newspapers including the *Eleftheron Vima* and the *Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados* (*Northern Greece Messenger*) said much the same.⁵⁸ The interest of the press in the Games remained unfailing indicating the magnitude of the Games in trans-Balkan cooperation and unity on the one hand and on the other their contribution to the development of Balkan sport. Returning to Greece, the national team was received by the Major of Athens, Ph. Carvelas, Director of the

Physical Education Department, and members of the town council who awaited it at the railway station. Athens was in its Sunday best. High streets and the railway station were all illuminated.⁵⁹ After the customary addresses, the national delegation, with the band of the town leading, marched to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs where Metaxas, the Prime Minister, and K. Kotzias, Minister-Athens Governor, received them. In a short speech, Metaxas hastened to stress the importance of victory rather than the diplomatic role of the Games in the region:

...I was gratified at the exhilarating news of your win. I was informed about the Greek victory by our Ambassador in Bucharest. I know that you competed with keen competitors. Your achievement is credit to Greek sport. I hope that in the following meetings you will gain first place again. I congratulate you on your success and wish you victories forever.⁶⁰

The political and diplomatic role of the Games now was belittled. Unlike Venizelos, who, in the first years of the Games (1929-1932), recognised and supported them as an additional means for rapprochement and collaboration in the area, the dictator Metaxas, whose government (1936-1940) coincided with the Games in the second half of the 1930s, saw victory as priority thus seeking recognition of his regime and reinforcement of national pride through sport. Venizelos, who died in Paris in March 1936, speaking about the Balkan Games in 1929, among other things, had said:

...I am a little concerned about the future of the Games for one reason; many Greek victories may affect negatively the morale of the other Balkan athletes and, in consequence, they may feel disinclined for involving in the Games.⁶¹

He also added that 'the other Balkan teams should gain first place thus savouring the sweets of victory'.⁶² Divergence of political ideology between Venizelos and Metaxas was evident and was reflected in sport too. Venizelos had clear view on the Games. He saw them as an instrument for constructive cooperation between the Balkan peoples. Victory was not priority. Good fellowship and unity in the Balkans should be sought and promoted through sport.

In the meantime and in an effort to improve Greek performance in sport and football in particular, Kostas Kotzias, Minister-Governor of Athens and former President of the Hellenic Football Federation, requested the British Council the dispatch of a British football coach in an effort to develop football in Greece. According to Peter Beck, Sydney Waterlow, the British Minister in Athens, observed that the dispatch of a British football coach would serve as a token of friendship between Greece and Britain and paved the way for further sports links. The British sporting spirit would be introduced in Greece as part of a cultural propaganda programme. Thus in February 1938, W. Baggett was appointed to the post of football coach in Greece, where his coaching work was reinforced by efforts to reorganise the game through the introduction of a British-style domestic cup competition.⁶³ But, apart from football, it was the scheduled Games in Belgrade that caught the attention and interest of the Greek world of sport. The 1938 Games now will be considered.

6.3 The Games of 1938 and the developments in the Balkans

Under the pressure of the developments in Europe, the Balkan states attempted to reach an agreement with Bulgaria. On 31 January 1938 and after a long interruption of trade exchanges between Greece and Bulgaria, a six-month commercial agreement was concluded that could be renewed on expiry by a fresh agreement for further trade exchanges. Furthermore, in February 1938, Milan Stojadinovic, the Yugoslav Prime Minister and the Rumanian delegates, returning from the annual session of the 'Balkan Entente' in Ankara, made a short stop in Sofia for talks. In the meantime, Ioannes Metaxas, the Greek Premier, met the Bulgarian Foreign Minister in Ankara, and discussed with him Bulgaria's accession to the Balkan Pact. Returning to Greece, Metaxas announced that his Balkan opposite numbers and he were happy to see Bulgaria taking its place within the Balkan alliance.⁶⁴ A little later, G. Kiosseivanov

of Bulgaria and a small government delegation left Sofia for Thessaloniki.⁶⁵ On 31 July 1938, the four states of the 'Balkan Entente' and Bulgaria agreed a treaty of friendship and non-aggression. Under the terms of the treaty and in compliance with the existing non-aggression treaties and conventions, the contracting parties were engaged not to resort to military operations for the settlement of differences. The signatories should also renounce territorial claims paying obedience to the fourth article of the 1919 Neuilly Treaty and to the Convention of July 24th 1923 referring to the Thracian frontier.⁶⁶ In reality, through the 1938 agreement Bulgaria secured its rearmament. The demilitarized zones of the Bulgarian, Greek and Turkish border in Thrace were abolished.⁶⁷ Bulgaria's rearmament reinforced the aggressive designs of the Bulgarian nationalist circles. Revisionist claims acquired a fresh impetus and before long they were openly made by the Bulgarian government.⁶⁸ Furthermore, in 1938, Milan Stojadinovic of Yugoslavia, Premier and Foreign Minister, after a visit to Paris and London to assure that Yugoslavia had not forsaken its old friends but it sought good terms with as many states as possible, went to Berlin to give assurances that Yugoslavia after the Italian-Yugoslav treaty of 1937 had no intention to assume engagements against Germany.⁶⁹

With trans-Balkan relations in a state of suspicion on the one hand and the developments in Europe threatening peace and unity in the Balkans on the other, the year 1938 saw the ninth Games, in September 1938, with Rumania, Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Albania involved.⁷⁰ Some months prior to the Games, on 9 March 1938, the Austrian Chancellor Kurt Schuschnig had announced a plebiscite on the independence of Austria. Adolph Hitler took this as an opportunity to take action against Austria. In the morning of 12th March 1938, the German Wehrmacht and the SS crossed the German-Austrian border. On 13 March 1938 Hitler announced in Linz the legislation on the 'Anschluss' (Annexation) of Austria into the German Reich. Many

potential opponents of the regime were arrested as well as the Jews who were expropriated and deprived of civil rights.⁷¹ The gloomy developments in Central Europe did not affect negatively the Games. Belgrade was the host city and the Games saw Albanian involvement for the fourth time since their inauguration. The Yugoslavs took the opportunity to forget for a while the clouds of war that were gathering over Europe and streamed into the stadium to encourage the athletes in their endeavour and to applaud their performances.⁷² In Greece, the Games were hailed with enthusiasm by the world of sport and once again became front-page news in the newspapers of the time, which observed that:

...The Balkan Games do not only contribute to the development of Balkan sport but they also provide the Balkan young with the opportunity to consolidate and preserve the bonds of friendship that have been established the previous years.⁷³

Two days prior to the opening ceremony of the Games, the Yugoslav press reported:

...The people of Belgrade will have the opportunity to forget for a while the gloomy developments in Europe and will attend the Balkan Games, source of good fellowship, unity and peace. The Games will open with all the proper solemnity.⁷⁴

Yet again, the political and diplomatic undertones of the Games rose to the surface. In the opening ceremony, Milan Stojadinovic, the Yugoslav Prime Minister, Viceroy Paul, the Minister of Physical Education, the Lord of Chamberlain, the Royal Adjutant as well as Balkan diplomatic representatives all graced the event with their presence lending political weight to it. Thousands of Yugoslav spectators made the Balkan national teams welcome with warm applause. The athletes' parade, with the band of the town leading, the oath, the raising of the Balkan flags and the playing of the national anthems were all performed in an impressive way that sent thrills of emotion to the crowd. The official addresses again focused on the constructive role the Games played throughout the 1930s in the establishment of contact and collaboration in the region despite national disagreements and in adverse circumstances.⁷⁵

The Games took place from 11th to 18th of September and included 100m, 200m, 400m, 800m, 1,500m, 5,000m and 10,000m race, marathon, 4x100m and 4x400m relay, 110m hurdle race, long jump, triple jump, high jump, pole-vault, discus, javelin and hammer throwing, shot put and 4x100m, 4x200m, 4x400m and 4x800m Balkan relay. The Greek athletes yet again distinguished themselves and took first place.⁷⁶ The Yugoslavs, however, made an amazing start and emerged the winners in six out of seven events held on the first day. They finally gained eleven gold medals in total: a great achievement. Nevertheless, Yugoslavia came second, followed by Rumania, Turkey and Albania.⁷⁷ The Greek Marathon winner, Thanasses Regazos, who parades holding the cup, set up by the Rumanian King Carol, may be seen in Figure 6.5.

FIGURE 6.5



THANASSES RAGAZOS, THE GREEK MARATHON WINNER OF THE 1938 GAMES, PARADES HOLDING THE CUP SET UP BY THE RUMANIAN KING CAROL. (Eleftheron Vima, 12 September 1938)

No sooner had the achievements of the Greek team been made known in Greece than Kotzias, Minister-Athens Governor, sent a congratulatory telegram to M. Rinopoulos, President of the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association:

...I congratulate the national team on its great success. The city of Athens will reserve a triumphant welcome for the winners, who will be awarded memorial medals.⁷⁸

Without doubt, the Metaxas government was gratified at the Greek achievement. Regional political ambitions and diplomatic aspirations of the Games now seemed to be of lesser importance. Warm welcome awaited the Greek delegation in Athens. Kotzias, Minister-Athens Governor, the Major of Athens, sports representatives and sports enthusiasts received it at the railway station. After a short stop at the Athens Town Hall, the national delegation went to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs where it was received by the Prime Minister. Responding to M. Rinopoulos' address, who thanked the government for financial support of the national team, Metaxas said:

...I congratulate you on your performance. I hope that you will achieve better performances and fresh win in the following meeting. Again you triumphed over well-prepared competitors who are worthy of all praise and admiration. Now do not rest on your laurels. Further improvement of performance can be achieved by intensive training and good preparation. I promise government support. We must always seek the win; we should not be second to none. Victory, after good preparation, must be priority. Only in this way, we shall have fulfilled our duty.⁷⁹

It is once again clear that Metaxas sought to display the superiority of his regime through sport. The Games, an important regional event, offered Metaxas the opportunity to utilise them for personal political ambitions and aspirations. Apart from their different political ideologies, comparison between Metaxas and Venizelos and the way they utilised the Games is again inevitable. Venizelos, the Greek Premier of the early 1930s, supported the Games financially and morally recognising their positive political and diplomatic role in the region. He also piously emphasised that the athletes should make every effort to represent their country in a spirit of friendship and fair play without seeking supremacy over their competitors. After the official addresses,

photographing of Metaxas with the national team followed.⁸⁰ Without doubt, Metaxas sought to associate himself with the winners for personal political ends. Despite futile hopes that the dramatic developments in Europe in 1939 and the outbreak of the Second World War would not reach the Balkans, clouds of war began covering the sky over the region. Nevertheless, the Balkan Sports Associations began preparing for the following Games. The last prewar Games now will be discussed.

6.4 The last prewar Games of 1939 and the developments in Europe and the Balkans

In April 1939, G. Kiosseivanov, the Bulgarian Prime Minister, submitted a report to the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the Bulgarian Chamber, and, for the first time, publicly and unambiguously stated that Bulgaria aspired to the restoration of the 1913 border.⁸¹ The economic infiltration into the Balkans by Nazi Germany through barter deals and the system of buying raw materials and products at low prices and re-selling them at high prices with frozen credits and an increase in the value of currencies, had gradually impoverished the Balkan countries.⁸² The spring of 1939 saw the clouds of war darkening over Europe. The annexation of Bohemia and Moravia to Germany in March 1939 and the Italian invasion of Albania ended the period of appeasement and indicated that the war now was very close. As Hitler and Mussolini's designs seemed to direct against Rumania and Greece, the British and French governments declared, on 13 April 1939, that they guaranteed the territorial integrity and independence of Greece and Rumania. In addition, London, in July 1939, signed an agreement with Athens by which Britain gave Greece credit for the purchase of goods value more than 2,000,000 drachmas in order to prevent Greece from further economic dependence on Germany.⁸³

The developments in Europe and the Balkan Peninsula in 1939 were rapid. On 7 April 1939, Italy attacked Albania, occupied the country in a few days and thereby gained a jumping-off place for further Italian expansion in the Balkans. Britain and France guaranteed the territorial integrity of Rumania and Greece. On 12 May 1939 a joint British-Turkey communiqué confirmed that, pending the conclusion of the final agreement, Britain and Turkey were engaged to assist each other, in the event that a military operation took place and resulted in war in the Mediterranean. A similar Franco-Turkish declaration was made on 24 June 1939 and finally, a pact of fifteen-year validity was agreed among Britain, France and Turkey in October 1939.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, on 23 April 1939, Russia entered into a non-aggression pact with the Nazi government, which precipitated the undeclared German attack on Poland in September 1939. France and Britain, as allies of Poland, declared war on Germany. In a swift time, Poland was crushed and was divided between Nazi Germany and Russia by a fresh treaty of friendship agreed between Russia and Germany on 28 September 1939.⁸⁵ In the face of the oncoming German threat, the Balkan countries sought to safeguard their national security by various means. King Carol of Rumania pursued neutrality and did not hesitate to abandon Poland when it became the target of Nazi. The Rumanian King hoped that by shrewd bargain he could use the oil as a means to ward off Germany's attack.⁸⁶ On the other hand, Yugoslavia sought cooperation with Italy, its traditional enemy. As for Greece, it attempted to be in good terms with both Britain and Italy.⁸⁷

With Europe on the threshold of the Second World War following the German invasion of Poland and the declaration of war by Britain and France against Germany on 3 September 1939,⁸⁸ the Balkan Games of 1939 surprisingly perhaps took place in Athens with the involvement of Yugoslavia, Rumania, Turkey and Greece. This in its way could be taken as a measure of their success and their importance. When with war about to hit Europe, the Balkan clung to the Games as a beacon of hope. The

competitions opened at the Panathinaikon Stadium on 1 October with pomp and circumstance and in the presence of sixty thousand of spectators.⁸⁹ In the opening ceremony, M. Rinopoulos, now President of the Balkan Sports Confederation and the heads of the Balkan sports delegations received, at the entrance of the Stadium, King George II, Prince Paul accompanied by Princess Frederica and Metaxas, the Prime Minister. Young girls dressed in national costumes of the Balkan states offered the Greek King an olive branch, symbol of peace.⁹⁰ Then the national teams, the Balkan sports representatives and the referees, with the flag-bearers of the competing countries leading, entered the stadium and lined up before the official guests. When the trumpets blared forth, four athletes coming down from Acropolis that had been brilliantly lit up on the occasion entered the stadium with torches in light, symbol of Apollo's spirit-the spirit of beauty and harmony-and lit fire in the altar.⁹¹ In a dead silence, Alexis Minotes, a distinguished Greek actor, impressed everybody reciting, in a loud voice, verses of the 1896 Olympic hymn. Official addresses, the playing of the Balkan hymn, a prize-winning musical composition by I. Kapsoképhalos, the playing of the national anthems, the raising of the national flags and the oath followed.⁹²

With the Balkan states to the verge of the Second World War, in a last-minute effort at unity, the Greek newspapers reported:

...In adverse circumstances, Greece welcomes the athletes of the Balkan Peninsula just as ancient Olympia welcomed the athletes from the Greek cities-states who travelled to the site of the games to compete for an olive branch. Winners and losers will be both applauded with enthusiasm. It is expected that once again the sports spirit, Balkan understanding, peace and culture will be the great victors in the Games.⁹³

There is no doubt that the thunder storm of war in Europe had begun threatening peace and security in the Balkans. In these circumstances, the diplomatic ambitions of the Games for trans-Balkan unity surfaced. Yet again, a message of friendship and peace through sport was attempted to be sent to the Balkan peoples. During the

Games, the Major of Athens gave a reception in honour of the national delegations. In the official speeches, the significance of the 1939 Games, which took place under difficult circumstances and 'the smoke of war having covered the sky over Europe', was emphatically pointed out.⁹⁴ A hard time awaited the Balkan nations. Nevertheless, on 2 October 1939 the tenth Balkan Sports Congress opened at the Hall of the Athens Academy in the presence of King George, Prince Paul, ministers and Balkan diplomatic and sports representatives. M. Rinopoulos, President of the Balkan Sports Confederation, in a touching address, reviewed the tenth-year contribution of the Games to trans-Balkan cooperation and thanked the sports representatives for having elected him President of the Balkan Sports Confederation for seven successive years. Responding to Rinopoulos, the representatives of the Balkan Sports Associations extended thanks to him for his unfailing interest and strenuous efforts to the Games' promotion and paid homage to Greece for the establishment and maintenance of good relations between the Balkan states through sport.⁹⁵

On the occasion of the Games, the Bulgarian Sports Association, which did not participate in the event, sent a telegram to the President of the Congress expressing regret at not being able to be involved, without, however, making the reasons of its absence known. It also congratulated the organising committee on the excellent organisation of the Games and wished the resolutions of the Congress would be unanimously accepted and would put into practice without loss of time.⁹⁶ The creation of steeplechase competitions was one of the items on the agenda. There was agreement on the establishment of annual steeplechase competitions from 1940 onwards. The first competitions were to take place in Constantinople early in April 1940. What a tragic irony! Moreover, the Turkish sports delegates suggested that future competitions should include athletes from Eastern Mediterranean states like Egypt, Syria and the like. The proposal was well received, but nothing came of it. It was

agreed only that the matter should be examined by a special committee since many difficulties of technical nature were generated by such an involvement.⁹⁷ Finally, respects were paid to the Kings of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Greece and to Kemal Atatourk, President of the Turkish Republic.⁹⁸

During the Games, a reception was given in honour of the national teams and sports representatives at the 'King George' hotel of Athens by Kotzias, Minister-Athens Governor (on 6 October 1939). The Balkan ambassadors in Athens, ministers and the Major of Piraeus graced the event with their presence. Kotzias addressed athletes and official guests and in his capacity as former athlete and former President of the Hellenic Football Association, among other things, pointed out the diplomatic role the athletes can play at international sports events:

...Although the athletes are not career diplomats, however, they play the role of a diplomat promoting good relations between peoples through sport.⁹⁹

Then the Bulgarian Ambassador in Athens, Sismanof, speaking on behalf of the Bulgarian world of sport, responded:

...As far as I am concerned, I have never been an athlete. When I was young, sport in Bulgaria had not gained popularity yet and was not an integral part of social life. For this reason, I can speak on behalf of the Bulgarian world of sport if you admit that the diplomat, in a fashion, is an 'athlete', who is involved in difficult events including 'hurdle race', 'high jump' and the 'throwing of heavy diplomatic documents' in an effort to preserve peace in the area. Thus in my role as a diplomat-'athlete', who makes strenuous efforts at peace, I express my great satisfaction of enlisting not only the Balkan diplomats' support but also the support of the representatives of the Greek, Rumanian, Turkish and Yugoslav Sports Associations. During the Games in Athens, all these representatives displayed a spirit of good will, friendship and collaboration. This year, the Bulgarian Sports Association, due to unusual conjunction of circumstances, did not participate in the Games. I thank the Greek organising committee, on behalf of the Bulgarian Sports Association, for the excellent organisation of the Games and congratulate the Balkan teams on their performances.¹⁰⁰

It can not be disputed that politicians and diplomats focused again and again on the diplomatic role of the Games recognising them as a constructive instrument for the

promotion of regional understanding and collaboration. The Rumanian Ambassador in Athens, Tzouvara, responding to Kotzias, among other things, observed:

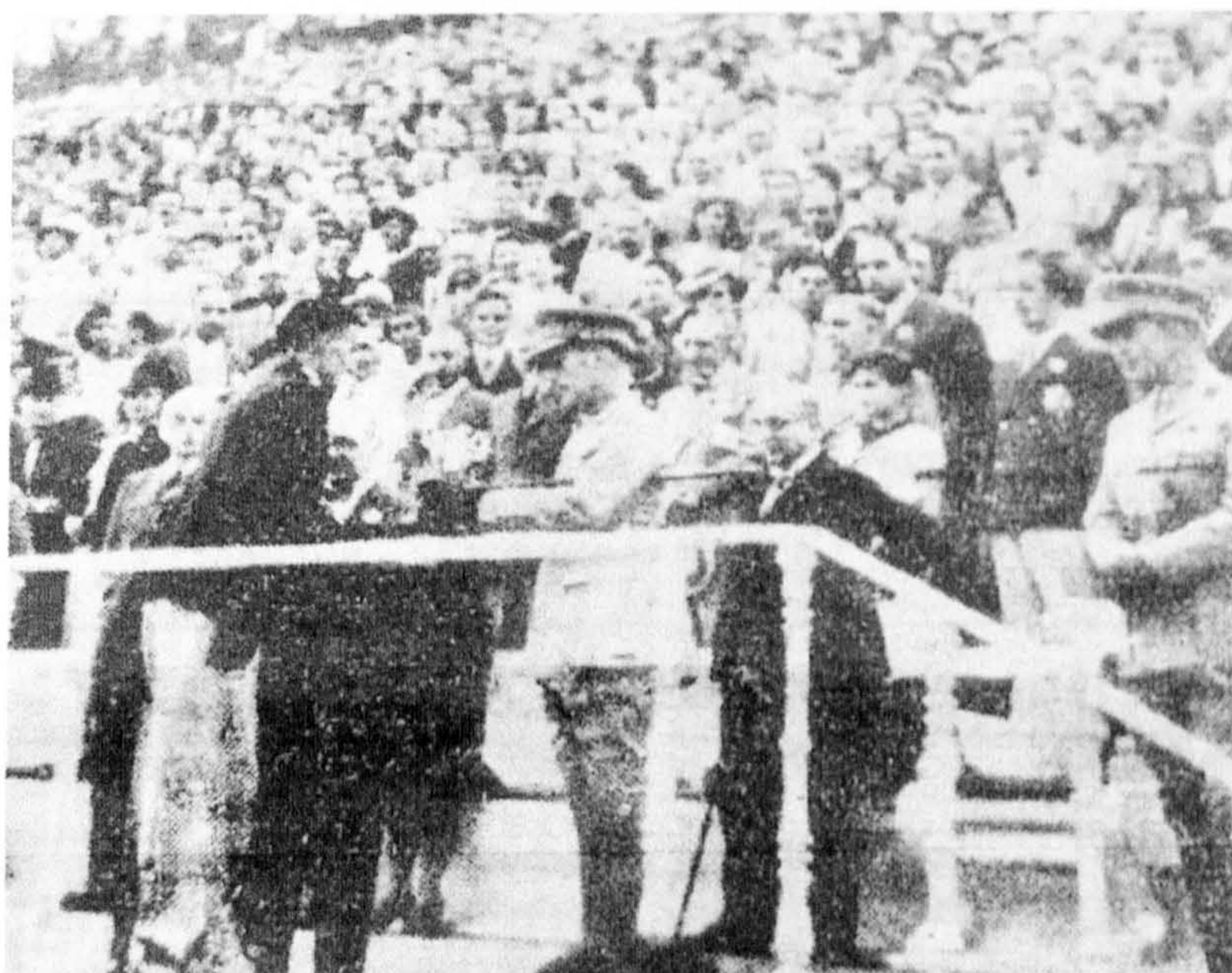
...I have the honour to speak on behalf of the Balkan diplomatic representatives. In my role as ambassador, I agree with you and confer the title of 'ambassador' to each of the athletes. Calling to my mind a French diplomat, who described diplomacy as a policy of many and various dimensions, and having the strong belief that the diplomats should seek and restore understanding and friendship between peoples, I admit that you, the athletes - I forget for a while your high government position and address to you as an athlete - were successful in your role as diplomats: we felt an harmonious pulse break from the first moment we were brought together; you helped us to overcome an embarrassing situation setting rivalry, hostility and national differences aside and we all together sought to promote peace and good fellowship in the Balkans. For a long time, the restoration of hope and friendship in the Balkans seemed unattainable goal and a fleeting desire that generated elusive emotions only. Nevertheless, thanks to the Greek initiative, ten years ago, trans-Balkan collaboration became reality; unity and understanding between the peoples of the region, even for a while, became attainable. In this crucial moment, unity is of great importance to the Balkan peoples' advantage.¹⁰¹

In short, the Balkan diplomats demonstrated their appreciation and admiration for the political and diplomatic role of the Games likening the athletes with diplomats and stressed once again that, throughout the 1930s, the Games were a source of good will and friendship bringing the peoples of the Balkans together in an effort to improve trans-Balkan relations. During the reception, B. Boeresco from Rumania, a keen supporter of the Balkan Games, awarded Kotzias the 'Gold Medal of Sport',¹⁰² a great honour.

The Games included 100m, 200m, 400m, 800m, 1,500m, 5,000m and 10,000m race, marathon, 4x100m and 4x400m relay, 110m hurdle race, long jump, triple jump, high jump, pole-vault, discus, javelin and hammer throwing, shot put, 4x100m, 4x200m, 4x400m and 4x800m Balkan relay and decathlon, which was introduced for the first time in 1939 after a resolution made in the 1938 Balkan Sports Session.¹⁰³ The Greek national team broke several national and regional records and came first. Yugoslavia came second followed by Turkey and Rumania. The Turkish athletes surprised everybody by putting up good performances leaving Rumania in fourth place. In the

closing ceremony, which took place on 8 October 1939, King George was invited to award the prizes.¹⁰⁴ Figure 6.6 shows King George in the prize-award ceremony while Figure 6.7 lists the year, venue and the involved states in the Games from 1929 to 1939.

FIGURE 6.6



KING GEORGE AWARDS THE WINNERS THE MEDALS AT THE 1939 GAMES.
(Eleftheron Vima, 10 October 1939)

FIGURE 6.7

Year	1929	1930	1931	1932
Venue	Athens, Greece	Athens, Greece	Athens, Greece	Athens, Greece
Involved states	Bulgaria Greece Rumania Yugoslavia	Bulgaria Greece Rumania Turkey Yugoslavia	Bulgaria Greece Rumania Turkey Yugoslavia	Bulgaria Greece Rumania Turkey Yugoslavia

Year	1933	1934	1935
Venue	Athens, Greece	Zagreb, Yugoslavia	Constantinople, Turkey
Involved States	Albania Bulgaria Greece Rumania Turkey Yugoslavia	Albania Bulgaria Greece Rumania Turkey Yugoslavia	Albania Bulgaria Greece Rumania Turkey Yugoslavia

Year	1936	1937	1938	1939
Venue	Athens, Greece	Bucharest, Rumania	Belgrade, Yugoslavia	Athens, Greece
Involved states	Greece Bulgaria Rumania Turkey Yugoslavia	Greece Bulgaria Rumania Turkey Yugoslavia	Greece Yugoslavia Albania Rumania Turkey	Greece Rumania Turkey Yugoslavia

YEAR, VENUE AND PARTICIPATING STATES IN THE GAMES FROM 1929 TO 1939.

The curtain of the 1939 Games went down while Europe was in the vortex of the Second World War. In the wake of such tragic developments, in the early 1940,

Britain and Greece signed a fresh commercial agreement, which entitled Greece to shake off the financial grip of Germany. The Greek people still held futile hopes that they would be unaffected by the war and the government took pains to keep away from the belligerents. In the wake of this policy, relationships with Germany and Italy seemed to be good and the traditionally friendly relations with Britain were strengthened. Regrettably, the inexorable fury of the war soon ended false beliefs in security. The law of force and violence had already been established in Europe.¹⁰⁵ A meeting of the members of the 'Balkan Entente' was held in Belgrade in the early February 1940. Although the Balkan Pact was agreed to be renewed for seven years, in practice, its role ended in the vortex of the Second World War.¹⁰⁶ The gates of hell opened in the Balkans. On 30 August 1940, the Axis Powers from Vienna ordered Rumania to surrender an area of about sixteen thousand square miles, with a population of 967,000 Magyars and 1,154,000 Rumanians, to Hungary.¹⁰⁷ The partition of Rumania not only brought the country almost to its prewar border, but also shattered the hopes of the 'Balkan Entente'. In talks between Rumanian and German representatives at Salzburg in July 1940, one of the matters discussed was that of the disintegration of the 'Balkan Entente' and elimination of the British influence in the Balkans. Rumania's territorial integrity was to be secured by Germany and Italy. The entry of Rumania into the political sphere of the Axis Powers was prelude to an increasing absorption. German troops arrived in Rumania in October 1940 via Hungary. The government excused the presence of the Germans by stating that the armament was in a bad condition and their overhaul was necessary. With this avowal the national independence of Rumania expired.¹⁰⁸

A few months before the opening of the 1940 Games in Constantinople, the Council of the 'Balkan Entente' met in Belgrade in February 1940. The Council proposed renewal of the Balkan Pact for the following seven years. G. Grafenco,

Foreign Minister of Rumania and President of the Council, suggested that the Balkan Pact should no longer be a narrow regional alliance, but it should be broadened to be able to face the difficult international situation and to protect the national interests of the Balkan states. In the communiqué of the Council it was stressed that, in the face of the tragic events in Europe, the contracting Balkan states were on the alert to defend peace, independence and territorial integrity.¹⁰⁹ The Council's communiqué was well received by the other European countries. French journalists stressed that the Balkan governments were steadfast in their efforts to preserve unity and stability in the area while the Germans praised the Balkan states for their determination to safeguard peace. What a dramatic irony! In Hungary, the political circles of Budapest refrained from comment about the Council's resolutions. They, however, professed themselves satisfied with the fact that the Balkan Pact did not stop the allies reaching a political agreement with neighbouring states. In consequence, the establishment of good relations between Yugoslavia and Hungary was an attainable objective and the talks could be initiated at any moment considered suitable by Yugoslavia.¹¹⁰

In the storm of the Second World War, understandably the Games began to falter. Rumania did not enter for the 1940 Games, which were to take place in Constantinople. Bulgaria, which had not been involved in the Games in 1938 and 1939, now cancelled its involvement at the last moment. With involvement only of Turkey, Yugoslavia and Greece (a state of affairs that gave the Games an unofficial character), the Games opened on 5 October.¹¹¹ Yet again, the President of the organising committee pointed out the positive role of the Games in trans-Balkan relations throughout the 1930s and praised the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association for its efforts to support and give an impulse to them. General Demir Taneo, Director of the Turkish Physical Education Department, opened the Games.¹¹² The competitions lasted two days only (from 5th to 6th of October) and included 100m, 200m, 400m,

800m, 1,500m, 5,000m and 10,000m race, marathon, 4x100m and 4x400m relay, 110m hurdle race, long jump, high jump, triple jump, pole-vault, discus and javelin throwing, shot put, hammer throwing and Balkan relay. Although it was agreed that no final result would be issued, the Turkish organisers surprised everyone by announcing Turkey as the winner. Regrettably, after a decade of achievements the Balkan Games finally abandoned the spirit of fair play, cooperation and goodwill.¹¹³

A few days later, on 28 October 1940, Italian troops invaded Greece. Metaxas was handed an ultimatum from the Italian Ambassador in Athens by which Italy demanded that strategic sites on Greek territory be put under Italian control. The ultimatum was rejected and the Greco-Italian war initiated.¹¹⁴ Contrary to expectation the Italians were defeated after their initial advance and gradually were pushed back into Albania. In the meantime, German troops gathered on the Rumanian side of the Danube and the Bulgarian government was requested to permit the entry of the German forces into the country. Despite the repeated British warning and the Russian proposal for a pact of military support, the Bulgarian government met the German request. In April 1941 the Nazi troops attacked on both Yugoslavia and Greece.¹¹⁵ The Games now suffered a fatal blow. The outbreak of the Second World War and the German occupation of the Balkans, catalysts for the decline of moral and cultural values, ended every cultural activity and any attempt for unity and peace in the region. Despite meritorious efforts, the Second World War belied the hopes for peace in the Balkans. The German attack on Greece and Yugoslavia in the spring of 1941 resulted in the collapse of the regional alliance. The Games, naturally, were not unaffected by the developments. The German occupation of the Balkan Peninsula delivered a fatal blow to this successful athletic event. Thus, an exercise in bold and brave idealism backed by political commitment and efficient regional action had come to a regrettable end. Destroyed by the outbreak of hostilities and the renewal of fighting, the Games'

successful progress was abruptly terminated. It is more than a sad irony that the impetus for the Games' establishment came from a nation beyond the Balkans and historically, at least, renowned for its cultural traditions.

Conclusion

The Metaxas dictatorship marked the political situation in Greece from 1936 to 1940. Unlike the Greek governments of the first half of the 1930s, which saw the Games as an additional means for rapprochement and collaboration in the Balkans, Metaxas attempted, to a great extent, to utilise sport in general and the Games in particular as an instrument for his regime's recognition and the achievement of personal political ends. Thus victory in the Games took priority. Nevertheless, the Games went on playing their positive political and diplomatic role in the region. In adverse circumstances, the Balkan Sports Associations made every effort to preserve and promote the spirit of good will and unity that the Games had fostered.

In short, the Games afforded all those involved the chance to push disagreement and hostility aside and to demonstrate that friction and dispute might be overcome, at least to an extent, through sport. Despite, however, good intentions, peace and security in the region could not be unaffected by the developments in Europe. With the result that in the second half of the 1930s, some of the Balkan allies, in an attempt to safeguard their national interests, distanced themselves and finally violated the regional political agreements. Inter-Balkan rivalries developed yet again rapidly and generated fresh complications and tensions that opened the gates to the German invaders. By 1940, the Balkan states had no illusion. They recognised that, till then, the circumstances only favoured the preservation of peace and that the policy of national independence, adopted by the 'Balkan Entente', now was out of the question. In consequence, each of the states of the 'Balkan Entente' followed its own foreign

policy in an effort to protect itself against the maelstrom of the developments; Greece and Turkey sought British and French support. Yugoslavia pursued cooperation with Hungary and Bulgaria came under Italy's control. Rumania drifted towards Germany in the hope of curbing the Hungarian and Russian designs.¹¹⁶ Ironically, Greece, which, in 1934, was particularly reserved about assuming commitments that might bring it up against Italy, finally became the target of the Italian expansionism and suffered Italian aggression in 1940. The 'Balkan Entente' proved ineffectual. Regrettably, from 1936 onwards Rumania was included in the German orbit while in 1941 it became a German protectorate and finally entered into the Second World War on Germany's side. Bulgaria followed Rumania's example. On the other hand, Turkey sought somewhat of 'neutrality'.¹¹⁷ The attempts to preserve peace and security in the Balkans were grasping at straws.

In the final analysis, in the 1930s, political agreements, the Balkan Conferences and the Balkan Games were all expected to play their part in promoting unity and understanding in the region. Germany's aggressive designs, the eclipse of the League of Nations, the creeping fear that the Balkans might become again pawns in Europe's diplomatic plans and the effects of the world-wide economic crisis, all impinged on the Balkan states, which realized that they had better seek security through collaboration by their own. Regrettably, the break of the Second World War, catalyst for moral, social and cultural values, ended these endeavours. The Games could not survive such a storm. Nonetheless, it did not blow everything away. After a decade of achievements in sport and cultural exchanges, the ice in relationships among the competing states had been broken and ideals and values of sport had been fostered and promoted. In addition, the Games were the forerunner of the Pan-European and the Mediterranean Games¹¹⁸ and an important annual meeting, which motivated the athletes to improve their performances and to equip themselves for successful competition at national and

international level. Despite the shaky political situation in the Balkans and the controversial policies the Balkan governments followed, the prewar Games became a strong link between the regional peoples. After a thirteen-year interruption, the Games resumed in 1953 and increasingly became again an applauded annual event in the Balkans. The postwar Games, which remained unaffected by the resurgence of the Macedonian question and the tension in relations between Greece, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria in the second half of the twentieth century, will be considered in the following chapter.

Footnotes

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- ¹ Alastos, Doros, Venizelos: Patriot-Statesman-Revolutionary, op. cit., p. 273. On 12 March 1936, Venizelos sent a letter to his supporters in Greece warning them about the danger of a possible Greek military engagement outside the Balkans, consequent upon a pledge alleged to have been given at Geneva in June 1934 by D. Maximos, the Greek Foreign Minister. Considering the international developments, Venizelos stated that peace was threatened by the German expansionism against the states of Danube and advised unity.
- ² Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 416-420.
- ³ Alastos, Doros, Venizelos: Patriot-Statesman-Revolutionary, op. cit., pp. 280-281.
- ⁴ Ibid., p. 282.
- ⁵ Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 422-435.
- ⁶ Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 471-473. The session of the 'Balkan Entente' in May 1936 in Belgrade was overshadowed by the triumph of Mussolini in Ethiopia and the failure of the League of Nations to check the flagrant Italian aggression. The four members of the Balkan Entente made clear again that the conflict with a Great Power was beyond their intentions. See Stavrianos, L.S., Balkan Federation: A History of the Movement toward Balkan Unity in Modern Times, Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1964, p. 244.
- ⁷ Stavrianos, L.S., Balkan Federation: A History of the Movement toward Balkan Unity in Modern Times, op. cit., p. 245.
- ⁸ "Germany's Anti-Encirclement Measures in South-East Europe and Spain", in Toynbee, J. Arnold and Toynbee, M. Veronica (eds), Survey of International Affairs 1939-1946, The Eve of War, 1939, op. cit., 1958, p. 353.
- ⁹ Apostolos, Vakalopoulos, Nea Helliniki Historia 1204-1985 (Modern Greek History 1204-1985), op. cit., p. 407.
- ¹⁰ Eleftheron Vima, 20 September 1936.
- ¹¹ Kruger Amd, "Breeding, Rearing and Preparing the Aryan Body: Creating Supermen the Nazi Way", in J. A. Mangan (ed), Shaping the Superman. Fascist Body as Political Icon. Aryan Fascism, London: Frank Cass, 1999, pp. 61-62.
- ¹² Metaxas' interview to the French newspaper *Echo* was republished in the Greek newspaper Eleftheron Vima, 18 September 1936.
- ¹³ J. A. Mangan, "Foreword", in J. A. Mangan (ed), Shaping the Superman. Fascist Body as Political Icon. Aryan Fascism, op. cit., p. xii.

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- ¹⁴ Quoted in Kruger Amd, "Breeding, Rearing and Preparing the Aryan Body: Creating Supermen the Nazi Way", in J. A. Mangan (ed), Shaping the Superman, Fascist Body as Political Icon. Aryan Fascism, op. cit., p. 56.
- ¹⁵ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 17 September 1936.
- ¹⁶ Archives of the International Olympic Academy, Case No 63, File 3, Document 38.
- ¹⁷ Archives of the International Olympic Academy, Case No 63, File 3, Document 49; Case No 63, File 3, Document 51.
- ¹⁸ Mandell, D. Richard, The Nazi Olympics, New York: Macmillan, 1971, p. xv.
- ¹⁹ Kruger, Amd, "Buying Victories is Positively Degrading' European Origins of Government Pursuit of National Prestige through Sport", in J. A. Mangan (ed), Tribal Identities. Nationalism, Europe, Sport, London: Frank Cass, 1996, p. 184.
- ²⁰ "Olympiakoi Agones-Verolino 1936 (Olympic Games - Berlin 1936)", Ethnos tes Kyriakes-Eidiki Ekdossi (Ethnos of Sunday-Special Issue), September 2000, pp. 36-37.
- ²¹ Kruger, Amd, "The Unfinished Symphony. A History of the Olympic Games from Coubertin to Samaranch", in Riordan, Jim and Kruger, Amd (eds), The International Politics of Sport in the Twentieth Century, London, E&FN Spon, 1999, pp. 14-15.
- ²² "Olympiakoi Agones-Verolino 1936 (Olympic Games - Berlin 1936)", Ethnos tes Kyriakes-Eidiki Ekdossi (Ethnos of Sunday-Special Issue), September 2000, p. 38.
- ²³ Ibid., p. 37.
- ²⁴ Eleftheron Vima, 8 September 1936.
- ²⁵ The XIth Olympic Games Berlin, 1936. Official Report, vol. 1, Berlin: Wilhelm Limpert-Verlag, 1937, p. 124.
- ²⁶ Eleftheron Vima, 29 September 1936.
- ²⁷ Eleftheron Vima, 8 September 1936.
- ²⁸ Eleftheron Vima, 29 September 1936.
- ²⁹ Eleftheron Vima, 22 September 1936.
- ³⁰ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 27 September 1936.
- ³¹ Ibid.
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ Quoted in Der Kongress zur Numberg 1934, Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP., Frz. Eher Nachf., 1934, pp. 130-141.

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- ³⁴ Eleftheron Vima, 29 September 1936.
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Macedonia, 27 September 1936; Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 26 September 1936.
- ³⁷ Eleftheron Vima, 7 October 1936.
- ³⁸ Eleftheron Vima, 4 October 1936.
- ³⁹ Eleftheron Vima, 6 October 1936.
- ⁴⁰ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 4 October 1936.
- ⁴¹ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 7 October 1936; Eleftheron Vima, 7 October 1936.
- ⁴² Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 4 October 1936; Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 7 October 1936.
- ⁴³ The Bulgarian report was republished in the Greek newspaper Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 12 October 1936.
- ⁴⁴ Stavrianos, L.S., Balkan Federation: A History of the Movement toward Balkan Unity in Modern Times, op. cit., p. 246.
- ⁴⁵ Geshkoff, Theodore, Balkan Union, A Road to Peace in Southeastern Europe, op. cit., p. 227; Christopoulos, George, Bulgaria's Record, op. cit., p. 64.
- ⁴⁶ The feelings of the Balkan governments about the Yugoslav-Italian agreement were fully revealed at the Belgrade Conference of the 'Little Entente' in April 1937. Stojadinovic was sharply criticised for concluding the treaty without previous consultation and for initiating bilateral agreements, which were contrary to the spirit of the 'Little Entente' and 'Balkan Entente'. Rumania, fearful of a political alignment between Italy, Hungary and Yugoslavia, was directed towards Germany. For Greece and Turkey the Yugoslav-Italian treaty was not a threat. Greece welcomed the likelihood of peace in the Adriatic while Turkey aspired to the Italian adherence to the Montreux Convention. See Stavrianos, L. S., Balkan Federation: A History of the Movement toward Balkan Unity in Modern Times, op. cit., pp. 246-248.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid., pp 248- 249.
- ⁴⁸ Macedonia, 19 February 1937.
- ⁴⁹ Macedonia, 7 September 1937.
- ⁵⁰ Eleftheron Vima, 4 September 1937.
- ⁵¹ Ibid.
- ⁵² Macedonia, 7 September 1937.

⁵³ Macedonia, 14 September 1937.

⁵⁴ Macedonia, 18 September 1937.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Eleftheron Vima, 6 September 1937; Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 7 September 1937.

⁵⁹ Eleftheron Vima, 16 September 1937.

⁶⁰ Eleftheron Vima, 18 September 1937; Macedonia, 18 September 1937.

⁶¹ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 11 October 1929.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Beck, Peter, Scoring for Britain: International Football and International Politics, 1900-1939, London: Frank Cass, 1999, pp. 241-242. Baggett also assumed responsibility for the national side's abortive efforts to qualify for the 1938 World Cup finals. Following two victories over Palestine, the Greek national team travelled to Budapest, where Hungary's 11-1 victory foiled Greek hopes. Waterlow, early in 1939, reviewing the British Council's work, stated that British propaganda aimed at keeping alive the tradition of Greek friendship for Britain and admiration of British institutions and that the British Council aimed to preserve and consolidate what the British people already had in the face of the aggressive economic thrust of Germany. According to Peter Beck, during the late 1930s, sport made an important contribution to the British Council's efforts to compete for influence in Greece, particularly among the youth. The perceived need to counter the German challenge through sport was uppermost, as conceded in March 1939 by a meeting held at the British legation at Athens in the presence of Lord Lloyd, the British Council's chairman.

⁶⁴ Kirk, George and Toynbee, M. Veronica, "The Balkan States in 1938. Bulgaria and the Balkan Entente: The Salonica Agreement of 31 July 1938", in Toynbee, M. Veronica (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1938, London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1953, p. 416.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 417.

⁶⁶ "Bulgaria in the Balkan Entente, Thessaloniki 31 July 1938", Law 1454, 12 November 1938, Official Gazette, vol. 1, no 429, pp. 2121-2122; Pavlowitch, Stevan, A History of the Balkans 1804-1945, op. cit., p. 167; Geshkoff, Theodore, Balkan Union. A Road to Peace in Southeastern Europe, op. cit., p. 227.

⁶⁷ Ephemeris ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 1, 5 August 1938; Kirk, George and Toynbee, M. Veronica, "The Balkan States in 1938. Bulgaria and the Balkan Entente: The Salonica Agreement of 31 July 1938", in Toynbee, M. Veronica (ed), Survey of International Affairs 1938, op. cit., 1953, p. 417.

- ⁶⁸ Geshkoff, Theodore, Balkan Union. A Road to Peace in Southeastern Europe, op. cit., p. 227.
- ⁶⁹ Geshkoff, Theodore, Balkan Union. A Road to Peace in Southeastern Europe, op. cit., p. 227; Christopoulos, George, Bulgaria's Record, op. cit., p. 64.
- ⁷⁰ Macedonia, 13 September 1938. Bulgaria did not participate without making the reason known.
- ⁷¹ Eleftheron Vima, 15 March 1938; Weinberg, L. Gerhard, A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1944, pp. 880-885; Shirer, William, 20th. Century Journey: A Memoir of a Life and the Times, vol. 2, The Nightmare Years, New York: Little Brown & Company, 1984, pp. 569-573.
- ⁷² Macedonia, 13 September 1938.
- ⁷³ Eleftheron Vima, 12 September 1938; Ephemeris ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 13 September 1938.
- ⁷⁴ Republished in Macedonia, 11 September 1938.
- ⁷⁵ Ephemeris ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 13 September 1938; Macedonia, 13 September 1938.
- ⁷⁶ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 20 September 1938; Macedonia, 20 September 1938.
- ⁷⁷ Macedonia, 13 September 1938; Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 13 September 1938.
- ⁷⁸ Ephemeris ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 20 September 1938; Macedonia, 20 September 1938.
- ⁷⁹ Eleftheron Vima, 22 September 1938; Macedonia, 22 September 1938.
- ⁸⁰ Macedonia, 22 September 1938.
- ⁸¹ Geshkoff, Theodore, Balkan Union. A Road to Peace in Southeastern Europe, op. cit., p. 227.
- ⁸² Ibid., p. 228.
- ⁸³ Daphni, Gregoriou, He Hellas Metaxe Dyo Polemon 1923-1940 (Greece between Two Wars 1923-1940), vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 474-476.
- ⁸⁴ Stavrianos, L.S., Balkan Federation: A History of the Movement toward Balkan Unity in Modern Times, op. cit., p. 251.
- ⁸⁵ Geshkoff, Theodore, Balkan Union. A Road to Peace in Southeastern Europe, op. cit., p. 229.

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- ⁸⁶ Stavrianos, L.S., Balkan Federation: A History of the Movement toward Balkan Unity in Modern Times, op. cit., p. 251.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 251-252.
- ⁸⁸ Apostolos, Vakalopoulos, Nea Helliniki Historia 1204-1985 (Modern Greek History 1204-1985), op. cit., p. 411.
- ⁸⁹ Eleftheron Vima, 1 October 1939.
- ⁹⁰ Eleftheron Vima, 1 October 1939; Eleftheron Vima, 3 October 1939.
- ⁹¹ Eleftheron Vima, 1 October 1939; Eleftheron Vima, 3 October 1939.
- ⁹² Eleftheron Vima, 1 October 1939; Ephemeris ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 2 October 1939.
- ⁹³ Eleftheron Vima, 1 October 1939; Macedonia, 1 October, 1939.
- ⁹⁴ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 2 October 1939; Eleftheron Vima, 1 October 1939.
- ⁹⁵ Eleftheron Vima, 3 October 1939.
- ⁹⁶ Eleftheron Vima, 5 October 1939.
- ⁹⁷ Ephemeris ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 5 October 1939; Eleftheron Vima, 5 October 1939.
- ⁹⁸ Apostolos, Vakalopoulos, Nea Helliniki Historia 1204-1985 (Modern Greek History 1204-1985), op. cit., p. 410. Kemal Atatourk died on 10 November 1939
- ⁹⁹ Eleftheron Vima, 7 October 1939.
- ¹⁰⁰ Eleftheron Vima, 8 October 1939.
- ¹⁰¹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰² Eleftheron Vima, 7 October 1939.
- ¹⁰³ Eleftheron Vima, 3 October 1939.
- ¹⁰⁴ Ephemeris ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 9 October 1939; Eleftheron Vima, 10 October 1939.
- ¹⁰⁵ On 9 April 1940, Germany invaded Denmark and then German troops disembarked in Norway. In May 1940, the Germans invaded Netherlands, Belgium and France. See Apostolos, Vakalopoulos, Nea Helliniki Historia 1204-1985 (Modern Greek History 1204-1985), op. cit., pp. 411-412.
- ¹⁰⁶ Stavrianos, L.S., Balkan Federation: A History of the Movement toward Balkan Unity in Modern Times, op. cit., p. 254.

- ¹⁰⁷ On 26 June 1940 the Rumanian government received a Russian ultimatum demanding the cession of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina. The appeal to Germany for support brought no positive response and the Rumanian provinces were finally surrendered. The success of Russia incited Bulgaria and Hungary to put further pressure on Rumania. The Bulgarian demand for the surrender of Southern Dobrudja to it was apparently supported by the Russian government. On 30 August 1940 an agreement was concluded by which the area was ceded to Bulgaria. In the meantime, Hungary claimed a large portion of Transylvania and rejected the Rumanian counter-proposal for an exchange of populations. See Stavrianos, L.S., Balkan Federation: A History of the Movement toward Balkan Unity in Modern Times, op. cit., p. 254.
- ¹⁰⁸ Stavrianos, L.S., Balkan Federation: A History of the Movement toward Balkan Unity in Modern Times, op. cit., p. p. 255.
- ¹⁰⁹ Neos Kosmos (New World), 8 February 1940.
- ¹¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹¹ Macedonia, 5 October 1940.
- ¹¹² Macedonia, 6 October 1940.
- ¹¹³ Macedonia, 8 October 1940; "Balkanikoi Agones 1940 (The Balkan Games of 1940)", in Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association (ed), Peninta Chronia Balkanikon Agonon (Fifty Years of Balkan Games), op. cit., p. 62.
- ¹¹⁴ Alastos, Doros, Venizelos: Patriot-Statesman-Revolutionary, op. cit., pp. 287-288. Despite Mussolini's assurances in May 1940 that he had no intention to clash with the nations, which were Italy's neighbours by sea or land, he launched a terrific press campaign against Greece in the early August 1940, accusing the government of complicity in the murder of the Albanian Daut Hozha and maltreatment of the Albanian population at the province of Thesprotia-Greece. The violence of the campaign was regarded as prelude to the Italian attack that followed. On 15 August 1940, an Italian submarine treacherously attacked and sank the Greek warship *Elli* while it was lying at anchor in the harbour of the island of Tinos. Greece, unwilling to declare war against Italy, attributed the navy operation to 'unknown submarine'. On 4 October, Hitler and Mussolini met at the Brenner Pass to decide Germany's military designs against the Balkans. Hitler was to invade Rumania and Mussolini would attack on Greece. In the following weeks, Rumania came de facto under the German control. See also Stavrianos, L.S., Balkan Federation: A History of the Movement toward Balkan Unity in Modern Times, op. cit., pp. 255-256.
- ¹¹⁵ Stavrianos, L.S., Balkan Federation: A History of the Movement toward Balkan Unity in Modern Times, op. cit., p. 256.
- ¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 253-254.
- ¹¹⁷ Andricopoulos, Yannis, The Balkan Search for Security in the Face of the Disintegration of the Structure of Europe after World War One: The Balkan Entente of 1934, op. cit., pp. 371-372.

¹¹⁸ Giannakes, Thomas, Zappeies kai Sychrones Olympiades (Zappeian and Modern Olympiads), Athens: n.n., 1992, pp. 223-224.

CHAPTER 7

EPILOGUE AND LEGACY

7.1 The revival of the Games (1953-1979) and the Macedonian Question in the postwar years

Chapter seven discusses, in some detail, the postwar Games from their resumption in 1953 to 1979 when the fiftieth anniversary of their initiation was celebrated. It also reviews the long-lasting and very crucial Macedonian question, which had a negative impact on relationships between Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece. Since this chapter does not intend to expatiate upon the Macedonian question, additional information about the impact of the Cold War on it is given in the footnotes. After their resumption in 1953, the Games increasingly became again an important annual athletic event. As discussed earlier, the prewar Games gave an impulse to modern sport in the Balkan Peninsula and brought antagonistic nations of different cultures and politico-social systems together. The Second World War ended all attempts to establish and promote trans-Balkan cooperation and unity. The rise of Nazism in Germany in the 1930s reactivated national claims of the past and provoked further inter-Balkan strife while the collapse of the Axis in 1944 turned the course of events upside down. The Macedonian question became again the thorn in trans-Balkan relationships and deadlocked efforts to restore understanding and trust. The aim of this review, of course, is not to retrace the history of the Macedonian question. However, a brief consideration of this crucial issue is necessary to demonstrate that, despite good

intentions and strenuous efforts, trans-Balkan rapprochement and collaboration by any means, could not easily be attained. Regional peace had no solid foundations. Nevertheless, once again the restoration of good relations through sport and culture was seen as desirable. This desire survived the chaos of the war years.

The Macedonian question was considered part of the 'Eastern question' that is, the issue of who would rule the lands of the collapsing Ottoman Empire.¹ Macedonia has always been a source of competing interests. The fateful importance of Macedonia is generated by its location in the very heart of the Balkan Peninsula controlling the main southern route from Central Europe to Thessaloniki, Greece and the Aegean. The Macedonian question came into being in the nineteenth century for various reasons.² In effect, the creation of the Bulgarian autonomous Church in 1870 and the efforts to extend its influence all over Macedonia initiated the rivalry between Greeks, Yugoslavs and Bulgarians. The struggle between the three nations was most fierce in the Turkish province of Macedonia with the revival of Bulgarian nationalism clearly aimed at compelling the Greek and Serbian inhabitants of Macedonia to declare themselves Bulgarians and to come under Bulgarian control.³ In sum, the Macedonian question was the consequence of the rise of Bulgarian nationalism and the subsequent quarrel between Bulgarians and Greeks for the ecclesiastical control of the Ottoman district of Macedonia.⁴ In the early twentieth century, the Macedonian question entered its most crucial phase. The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation (I.M.R.O.), which had been founded in 1893 with the purpose of effecting the incorporation of Macedonia into Bulgaria, launched an attack by members of its paramilitary division, known as the 'komitadjis'.⁵ The situation in Macedonia turned from bad to worse with the komitadjis openly terrorising the population, a fact that forced Greeks and Yugoslavs to take immediate action. The Greeks organised their combatants and fierce fighting ensued between the Bulgarians and the Greeks. Yugoslav armed forces

alarmed at what they saw as the danger of Bulgarian proselytism, entered the fighting shortly after. By 1906, the Bulgarians had lost control over some parts of Central and Southern Macedonia, where the population was solely Greek.⁶

Nevertheless, Turkish nationalism motivated Yugoslavia, Greece and Bulgaria to attempt unity. Between the years 1910 and 1911, the Christian states of the Balkan Peninsula prepared the ground for the joint struggle against the Turks. In 1912 the Balkan states reached bilateral agreements. Although in the Greek-Bulgarian treaty no mention was made of any division of Macedonia, the Yugoslav-Bulgarian treaty incorporated a Secret Annex that provided for the partition of Macedonia in the event that the Turks were defeated.⁷ The first Balkan War broke out in 1912. Turkey was defeated and, by the Treaty of London of May 30th 1913, surrendered its European possessions. The first Balkan War, however, did not settle the crucial political controversial questions. The intervention of the Great Powers on behalf of Albania, who had not joined forces with its neighbours to push the Turks out of the Balkans, and the quarrel over the Macedonian spoils eventually led to a new war. The establishment of an independent Albania in 1913 deprived Yugoslavia of the outlet to Adriatic and its gains on the southwest. As a result, the Yugoslav government required from Bulgaria a large share of Macedonia. Bulgaria refused and demanded Macedonia as a whole. At the same time, Greece rejected Bulgarian claims on Greek Macedonia and thus the second Balkan War broke out in June 1913.⁸ Bulgaria was defeated. By the treaty of Bucharest on 10 August 1913, Macedonia, the bone of contention among the Balkan states, was partitioned between Greece, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Moreover, Bulgaria was allowed to retain Western Thrace. Although in the case of Greek Macedonia, the partition was based on ethnological criteria, in Yugoslav Macedonia the majority of the Slav Macedonians were Bulgarian sympathisers and looked to Bulgaria for political guidance and support. The Bulgarian government adopted a revisionist policy and the

komitadjis again launched raids against Greek and Yugoslav Macedonia and generated frontier incidents.⁹ During the Great War, Bulgaria, aspiring to the annexation of Macedonia, joined the Axis Powers. From 1915 to 1918 parts of Macedonia were occupied by the Bulgarian army, which launched a ruthless campaign in order to achieve the 'bulgarization' of the territory. After the Great War, of course, Bulgaria was among the defeated states. Its threat receded.¹⁰

The postwar years saw attempts made by the Balkan states to settle their differences through the exchange of populations to eliminate the minority problem. While the Macedonian question was thus definitely solved for Greece, in Yugoslavia, where no population exchange took place, the Macedonian question continued to poison Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations.¹¹ Bulgarian propaganda in the interwar years and a separatist tendency among the Macedonian Slavs gradually resulted in a Yugoslav plan to confront the Bulgarian territorial claims on Macedonia with an autonomous Macedonia. The Yugoslav government, however, insisted that there was no Macedonian nation and rejected a plan for the establishment of autonomous Macedonia. However, Yugoslav leaders of the opposition declared that the Macedonian Slavs constituted a separate nationality. The idea for autonomy took time to mature.¹² By the early 1940s, many Yugoslav politicians, who had joined Marshal Tito in his resistance movement of Yugoslavs against the German occupation, advocated the creation of an autonomous Macedonia within a Federal Yugoslavia. Such a plan, as a solution to the Macedonian question, offered potential political opportunities and Tito was the first Yugoslav leader to take advantage of them.¹³ Bulgarian opportunity to occupy Macedonia appeared in spring 1941, when Germany launched an attack on Yugoslavia and Greece. The Bulgarian army joined the German troops and invaded Greece and Yugoslavia after it had secured Hitler's permission to occupy Macedonia and Thrace.¹⁴ Bulgaria changed sides in September 1944, and the

'Communist Fatherland Front' came to power. The Bulgarians now attempted to leave troops in Macedonia under the pretext of fighting the Germans. The British, however, in the face of the Bulgarian manouvres to keep Macedonia, refused to conclude an armistice unless the Bulgarians withdrew from Greek territory. An Allied Commission was appointed to supervise the implementation of the armistice agreed in Moscow in October 1944 between Bulgaria on the one hand and the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union on the other. By the agreement, the Bulgarian authorities were required to expel from Greece and Yugoslavia all those Bulgarians who were citizens of Bulgaria on 1 January 1941.¹⁵

Yugoslavia had a considerable population of Slavs of avowed Bulgarian sympathies in 'Vardar' Macedonia that is, the southern province of Yugoslav Macedonia. Although Marshal Tito recognised the Macedonian Slavs as a separate ethnic group, he never clearly accepted an independent Macedonia outside Yugoslavia's border. By the end 1943 Tito had decided to solve the Macedonian question, establishing a federation of six republics, including Macedonia. The federation was to be founded within Yugoslavia's border, but it might be expanded to embrace Bulgaria too, under the name 'Southern Slav Union'.¹⁶ Although Tito had secured the Comintern's support (that is, the support of the Union of the Communist Parties known also as the 'Third International'), he had not, however, secured the support of the Communists of Macedonia.¹⁷ Tito sought Stalin's support for his plan and was successful. After this, he first attempted to incorporate Bulgarian Macedonia, the so-called 'Pirin' Macedonia within the newly formed political unit. In November 1944, the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party proposed the creation of the Yugoslav-Bulgarian Federation. Yugoslavia suggested that Bulgaria should form the seventh federal unit of Federal Yugoslavia. The Bulgarians became immediately alarmed.¹⁸

In the late 1940s, well-prepared propaganda emanating from Belgrade began spreading the message that the 'Macedonian People's Republic of Yugoslavia' offered a homeland to the Macedonians, who lacked a home and came from Greece and Bulgaria. As a result, in 1950, relations between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria reached a point of high tension although not many openly aggressive actions were now committed by the komitadjis. On the other hand, Tito, by 1950, seemed amenable to the restoration of good relations with Greece, although his government was propagating the much-disputed solution of the unified Macedonia within Yugoslavia.¹⁹ Despite, however, some improvement in Greco-Yugoslav relationships, serious friction between the two sides still remained. The most crucial controversy was generated by the Yugoslav propaganda regarding Greek Macedonia. Nevertheless, in spring 1951, relations between Greece and Yugoslavia seemed to have improved, at least at a diplomatic level. Meanwhile, the Bulgarian propaganda concerning Macedonia forced Yugoslavia to take defensive measures. In addition, the Soviet Union renewed its interest in the creation of a Balkan Federation, in which an independent Macedonia under Bulgarian control could play an active part. The revival of the question of an independent Macedonia became a serious threat to Yugoslavia and, for this reason Tito welcomed cooperation with Greece and Turkey.²⁰

After this, in February 1953, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey reached an agreement of amity and collaboration while in June 1954 Tito paid an official visit to Athens. In August 1954, the agreement was followed by a Pact concerning political collaboration and aid, which was signed at Bled in Slovenia by the three states. In essence, the Pact was never put into practice.²¹ Four years later, in March 1958, Tito met the Greek Premier in Rhodes and matters concerning outstanding issues came under discussion. As a positive outcome of the meeting, a Greco-Yugoslav agreement was signed in Athens in June 1959. In the same year, Constantinos Karamanlis, the

Greek Premier, paid an official visit to Yugoslavia indicating that relations between the two states were improving and the road to harmony and cooperation was, at last, open.²² Nevertheless, in December 1961, political circles in Belgrade stated publicly that a Slavic minority, which was living in Greece, was mistreated by the Greek authorities. The statement irritated government feelings in Athens and the Greco-Yugoslav border was closed again thus ending the policy of open frontiers. Relationships became cold again. That was not all. The Macedonian question was the main cause of disagreement between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria too.²³

In the 1960s and 1970s, despite Yugoslav provocations regarding the Macedonian question, trade exchanges between Yugoslavia and Greece were restored, particularly when democracy was reinstated in Greece in 1974 after a seven-year dictatorship. Moreover, the deterioration of relationships with Turkey consequent upon the Cyprus crisis, which brought Greece to the verge of war with its neighbour, made the strengthening of relations with Yugoslavia a priority.²⁴ After Tito's death in 1980, Yugoslavia's attitude towards Greece concerning the Macedonian question became considerably more aggressive. Throughout the 1980s, statements were made from Skopje alleging that their countrymen in Greek Macedonia were oppressed whilst in 1982 in turn complaints were made by the Greek government. Nonetheless, Athens attempted to maintain a mild reaction to the aggressive Yugoslav policy. For this reason, despite political controversy trade cooperation between Greece and Yugoslavia was progressing smoothly. In addition, Belgrade hastened to declare that it had no territorial claims on Bulgaria and Greece.²⁵ As far as Greco-Bulgarian relationships are concerned, after the Second World War, they were particularly frigid inasmuch as Bulgaria had joined the Axis and had committed numerous atrocities in the Greek part of Macedonia. Diplomatic relations between the two states were restored in May 1954, although the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople had

already recognised the independent Bulgarian Church in 1945. All points of disagreement were smoothed out in 1964 when the two sides reached an agreement on war reparations. More importantly, the official statement by the Bulgarian government in 1964 that it had no territorial or minority claims on Greece, paved the way for the development of good relations and cooperation between the two countries. In 1964, Todor Zhivkov, the Bulgarian President, announced that his country respected the frontiers established in the Balkans after the Second World War and that it considered them inviolable. With regard to the Macedonian question, the two countries declared that they supported the *status quo* and abided by the peace treaties.²⁶ Regrettably, in 1991, a civil war broke out between the Serbians on one hand and the Slovenians and Croats on the other. The dissolution of the Yugoslav Federation and the declaration of an independent Macedonian state with Skopje as its capital were the consequences of the war. The Macedonian question entered into a new crucial phase, which was initiated late in 1991 after the declaration of independence of the 'Macedonian' state.²⁷ It is against this fractious political scene that the role of the postwar Games should be considered.

The prewar and postwar political situation in the Balkans, as has been made clear above, was one of friction and suspicion between the nations largely as a consequence of the Macedonian problem. Nevertheless, the Balkan Games were resumed in 1953. In fact, resuscitation of the Games was attempted soon after the war. The speedy attempts to revive the Games in some form or other despite the cantankerous relations between the nations at a political level which characterised much of the second half of the twentieth century bear witness to a surviving belief in the value of the Games as a medium of contact, cooperation, and reconciliation. In 1946 there was an effort to revive the Games in Tirana, Albania. Greece and Turkey were not involved. The event was never officially recognised. The competitions

resumed unofficially in 1947 in Bucharest under the name 'Balkan and Central European Games' the latter part of the name indicating the participation of non-Balkan Hungary. Although the next meeting was due to take place in Yugoslavia in 1948 under the name 'European-Balkan Games', it was cancelled due to financial difficulties.²⁸

Despite great economic problems, the Games resumed in Athens in June 1953 with Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey involved. Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania did not participate.²⁹ As already made clear, serious obstacles held back improvement in Balkan relations after the Second World War. The Macedonian question remained a curse in relations between Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, in the early 1950s, Greek-Yugoslav relations, which had gone from bad to worse in the 1940s due to friction over Macedonia and the 'Macedonian' minority, began improving when Yugoslavia acknowledged that relations with Greece should not be affected negatively by controversy over the 'Macedonian' minority.³⁰ In a spirit of goodwill and conciliation, in late 1950, the foreign ministers of both sides exchanged visits thus marking a new era in Greek-Yugoslav relations. Three years later, after lengthy talks, a treaty of friendship and cooperation was agreed in Ankara between Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey. A climate, in which the Games could be revived, was created. The 1953 treaty was followed by a military alliance agreed in Bled, Yugoslavia a year later.³¹ This tripartite political alliance possibly ensured involvement of the three contracting states in the Games. However, the fact that, after the Second World War, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Albania came under Soviet influence whereas Greece and Turkey were members of NATO certainly did not permit Balkan rapprochement beyond a certain point.³² It seems that the postwar Games, in the first years of their resumption, were negatively affected by the division of the traditional participants states into different political ideological camps.

It should be also noted that by the time of the Games' resumption in 1953, Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations, which were in crisis during the Second World War and in a long drawn out conflict over the Macedonian question, blocked the way to rapprochement and collaboration. Nevertheless, a few months after Stalin's death on 5 March 1953, there was a change in the Soviet foreign policy and in those of the states that were under its influence. Some of the changes were evident in the Balkans. For example, reconciliation between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia had a positive impact on relations between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.³³ Following the Soviet-Yugoslav rapprochement, Belgrade and Moscow exchanged ambassadors and throughout the 1954 there were Soviet and Yugoslav official statements that relations between the two countries were steadily improving thus preparing the ground for Nikita Khrushchev's visit to Belgrade in 1955.³⁴ Such developments, had, in time, had their impact on the Games. Despite fluidity in inter-Balkan relations, the Games' resumption in 1953 raised both hopes and expectations for Balkan sport after the Second World War. Personalities from the world of sport and politics were invited to the event. Under the Games' regulations, two athletes from each of the three competing states could compete in every contest, with the exception of the marathon race in which more than two athletes should be involved.³⁵ The royal family, who had returned to the throne of Greece after the 1946 plebiscite, attended the Games in an effort to give the event official recognition and solemnity. At the meeting of the sports representatives it was suggested that the Games should keep their prewar name and that all the Balkan Sports Associations should again be invited.³⁶

The second official postwar Games opened on 24 July 1954 at the stadium of the 'Yugoslav Army' in Belgrade. Only Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey were involved. Bulgaria and Rumania, two Soviet bloc countries, again stayed away from the Games. As far as Albania is concerned, it was under Soviet influence from 1945 onwards while

in 1949 it became member of the Council of 'Mutual Economic Assistance' between Eastern States to accede to the Warsaw Pact some years later (1955). In the meantime, Albania and Yugoslavia were on bad terms and did not reestablish diplomatic relations until 1970.³⁷ Clearly chequered trans-Balkan relations in the early 1950s negatively affected participation by all the regional states in the postwar Games. Thus, the 1954 Games took place with three states involved. After the athletes' parade and the taking of the oath, General Creacic opened the Games on behalf of Marshal Tito, who was on official visit to Zagreb. In the addresses of the opening ceremony, the political and cultural dimensions of the occasion were stressed. The Yugoslavs put up good performances and won first place. Greece came second and Turkey third.³⁸

With Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia involved, Constantinople played host to the following Games. The organising committee made every effort to ensure a successful competition, which took place in the presence of the Turkish Minister of Education, the Mayor of the host city and the Greek Consul. Yugoslavia again outmatched its competitors.³⁹ The Greek poor performances caused dissatisfaction among sports enthusiasts and sports associations in Greece. They contrasted unsatisfactory performances at the postwar meetings with Greek achievements in the prewar Games and, reasonably, wondered about the prospects for modern sport in their country. Sport had been neglected throughout the 1940s. Crucial political and social problems had subsequently preoccupied the country. In consequence, sport had become of minor importance. Nevertheless, after the Games had emerged from the ashes of the war and fresh attempts were made to promote the growth of sport, the poor Greek performances attracted bitter criticism. It was suggested that experienced coaches should undertake the preparation of the national team. Constant and intensive endeavour and modern sports facilities were prerequisites for successful competition at regional and European level.⁴⁰

One year later, on 20 July 1956, the national teams of five Balkan states (only Albania was absent) met at the 'Partizan' Stadium in Belgrade for the first time since the resumption of the Games in 1953. Beyond all expectations, the 1956 Balkan Games saw the political advance of the event. As expected, the Soviet-Yugoslav rapprochement from 1953 onwards had a positive impact on relations between Belgrade and Sofia, reducing dispute over Macedonia. Sofia acknowledged that there was no 'Macedonian' nation waiving thus claims on the territory of Yugoslav Macedonia and made clear that there was no 'Macedonian' minority on Bulgarian territory.⁴¹ The political significance of the 1956 Games was apparent from the fact that they took place in the presence of Tito's representative and the envoys of the competing states and the Games were held under the patronage of Marshal Tito, President of the Yugoslav Republic. It should not be overlooked, incidentally, that at the meeting of the sports delegates, which took place before the opening ceremony, the establishment of a Secretariat of the Games was discussed and agreed. More significantly, plans for the future involvement of women athletes was the main item on the agenda. Both facts played their part in ensuring the future of the Games. Athletes, sports representatives and diplomats from five Balkan countries met ready once again to demonstrate friendship, cooperation and peace.⁴² At this event, well-trained and very promising athletes represented Yugoslavia and achieved the highest number of points. Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey gained the second, third, fourth and fifth places respectively. The performances of the Yugoslavs, Rumanians and Bulgarians were most impressive and roused the spectators' enthusiasm. De facto, the achievements resulted from the speedy growth of modern sport in Yugoslavia, Rumania and Bulgaria where communist governments took a great interest in sport in efforts to promote their countries both regionally and internationally. Sport in the Balkans was now an internal and external political instrument.⁴³

The 1957 Games were significant for two manifestations: the female emancipation and the growing influence of ideological sport. The Games was to see the involvement of women athletes for the first time in the history of the Games. Hopes were raised for the development of women's sport in the region. Four years ago, in 1953, the year of the Games' resumption, the Yugoslavs had proposed that women athletes should be involved in the competitions.⁴⁴ The proposal was unanimously accepted and women cherished ambitious for equality in sport. Regrettably, however, no women participated in the Games until 1957. It should be noted that in 1954 a sports display by women athletes in Belgrade took place. Women were involved again in a sports presentation in Constantinople in 1955. The year 1956, however, saw no sports performance by women. Thus it was that four years after the Yugoslav proposal, a small number of women athletes were involved in the Games and competed in eleven events: 100m, 200m and 800m race, 80m hurdle race, 4x100m relay, high jump, long jump, shot put, discus and javelin throwing and pentathlon. The Rumanian women athletes won first place followed by Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Rumania took the lead in the development of women's sport in the Balkan Peninsula after the Second World War. It was also the first country in the Balkans to establish and stage the National Women Championship at Brasov in 1921 and then at Arad in 1925.⁴⁵ In the 1957 Balkan Games, Greece was represented by a small team of four women athletes and among them Sofia Leriou who distinguished herself in discus throwing.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, this was an emancipation watershed in Balkan sport. The establishment of communist governments in Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia led directly to the growth of women's sport in the Balkans.

As mentioned above, this study de facto examines the political dimensions of the Games. However, a brief consideration of women's sport in Greece and the rest of the Balkans will provide useful information about the reasons for their involvement only

in the postwar Games. Although women had become members of athletic associations in the 1890s in Greece, they did not, however, exercise for national or international competitions or for recreation. They exercised to be healthy mothers. In the 1906 'Mesolympics' in Athens, women did participate in lawn tennis and Greece celebrated its first woman lawn tennis medallist. Nevertheless, in the first decades of the twentieth century, women in Greece, apart from tennis and riding, were not involved in athletic events regionally or internationally.⁴⁷ However, times were changing, women were gradually less restricted and inhibited and thus the technical committee of women's sport of the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association was established in 1928. The Pan-Hellenic Women's Championship, which included track and field events only, took place, on an annual basis, from the early 1930s until the eve of the Second World War. A small number of women athletes were usually involved in these competitions, which included: 80m and 100m race, long jump, high jump, javelin throwing, shot put and discus throwing. Nevertheless, a good start had been made.⁴⁸ After the Second World War and throughout the 1940s, the unfavourable circumstances and socio-political unrest in Greece and the other Balkan states had a negative impact on women's sport, which fell behind developments in Europe. Civil wars, poverty and continual changes of borders forced Balkan women to concentrate on the survival of themselves and their families. Involvement in sport was an unavailable luxury. Women complied with society's expectations. They had no choice. They took care of their children and their husbands. They were home workers.⁴⁹

The harsh conditions of women's lives on the one hand and the pressures of society on the other ensured subordination in society. Without career and political rights (for example, women had no right to vote in Greece until 1952) and inferiors in a patriarchal society, the Balkan women had few opportunities for involvement in sport.⁵⁰ However, the national liberation movements in Greece and Yugoslavia during the

German occupation and the communist governments of Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia after the Second World War all had a positive impact on women's sport in the Balkans. Many women both in Greece and Yugoslavia joined the troops of the National Resistance against the Axis Powers. These women won respect and admiration for their courage and endeavour. Many women worked in factories and a large number of them brought up their children alone.⁵¹ In addition, the position of women in the Soviet bloc countries increasingly improved after the Second World War with women participating in the labour market and politics. Women were to reflect the superiority of socialism in all spheres of life. Thus sport, a source of international recognition was encouraged. Women's sport now took priority with the result that in the 1957 Balkan Games the Rumanian women athletes won first place with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria in the second and third places respectively. Rumania played a leading part in the development of women's sport in the Balkan Peninsula since the communist regime after the Second World War, took a great interest in sport in general and women's sport in particular.⁵²

The communist states rejected the myth of the 'weaker sex' as well as the traditional concepts of femininity. The performances of Soviet women gymnasts in 1952 and the degrees of difficulty they mastered led to a revolution in gymnastics, which the women track athletes of East Germany spread. Training sessions in communist nations were intensified to the limits of the athletes' endurance. In this way these nations took the lead in women's sport. Standards were raised in training and contests.⁵³ Moreover, performances were demanded at an increasingly earlier age and particularly in sports, which required a high degree of co-ordination like apparatus work, rhythmic gymnastics, skating and springboard diving-sports in which the basic skills were taught when children were old enough to go to school and peak performances were achieved as early as fourteen years of age. Soviet and Rumanian

girl athletes dominated gymnastics in the 1970s and 1980s, and utilised East Germany training models.⁵⁴ The impact of sport on women's emancipation was small in communities where women were excluded from public life by law or convention. In response, some multi-ethnic communist countries deliberately used sport to break down patriarchal prejudices and gain a measure of emancipation for women. This was a conscious policy in Balkan communist states with Muslim populations like Albania. In Turkey, with its Muslim population, sport became an effective means of liberating minds from religious prejudice and reactionary tradition and contributed, to some extent, to the reduction of the oppression of women and the gradual establishment of a new way of life.⁵⁵

Women were now well to the fore. It was in this new social, cultural and political climate that the sixth Balkan Games opened at the 'Lefski' Stadium of Sofia in 1958, with Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Turkey involved. The Bulgarian organising committee sought to secure Albania's participation, although Greece voiced serious objections to the *ex post facto* Albanian involvement on the grounds that general consent should have been obtained for it in advance. The Bulgarian athletes now amazed everybody with their achievements. Bulgaria took first place. The excellent Bulgarian performances reflected modern sport's speedy development in Bulgaria in the postwar years. Communist concentration on sport for political reasons, internal and external, was paying dividends.⁵⁶ The role of sport in communist foreign policy varied in importance over the years, reflecting both shifts in domestic and foreign policy and the rapidly changing world situation. After the Second World War, a major aim of several communist states was to attain sports supremacy over capitalist nations as a statement of the superiority of communism. In addition, success in sport was seen as a means to help them to attain a measure of recognition and prestige regionally and internationally.⁵⁷ Furthermore, competitive fitness was integral to the early ideas of

communism. During the communist period in Bulgaria and other Eastern-European countries, mass fitness was promoted as a state-building activity with the purpose of ensuring the survival of society. Mass fitness was believed to contribute to the formation of group identity, to the mobilisation of mass support for party policy and was viewed as a means of assessing allegiance to society's aspirations.⁵⁸

Athletes from the same five Balkan states competed at the stadium of '23rd August' in Bucharest in 1959. The Balkan sports delegates under the presidency of Plorescu, Minister of Energy, discussed the prospects for the Games in the 1960s. The Rumanian Minister suggested that the Bulgarian proposal for Albania's participation in the Games should be one of the items on the agenda. The Greek representatives, however, in an effort to avoid discussing the matter, alleged that the proposal broke the regulations. They argued that the matter should be placed on the agenda at least two months before the session and not at the last moment. The Greek request was supported by the Yugoslavs and therefore it was agreed that the matter of Albanian participation would be discussed at the following session.⁵⁹ The source of Greece's antipathy and its opposition to the participation of Albania was, to an extent, political. Greek hostility to Albania's involvement in the Games resulted partly from the fact that the 'state of war' against Albania that had been proclaimed by Greece in 1940 had not yet been raised. In addition, serious issues had been generated by Albania's maltreatment of the Greek population who were living in southern Albania.⁶⁰ Greek-Albanian relations began improving from August 1987 onwards, when Greece unilaterally declared the end of the 'state of war'.⁶¹

The Games again were thus held between the usual five states with Rumania obtaining first place. The Rumanian national and regional records were a proof of the athletes' professional skill and opened up hopeful horizons for Rumanian sport. Once

again communist concern for sport as a political tool of cultural distraction and national self-assertion was evident in the Balkans, as indeed was longer-term nationalistic competition between the Balkan nations.⁶² For the Soviet bloc countries the participation in international meetings was a decision taken by the government. The government not only planned attendance at sports meetings abroad, but also ensured that the teams were fully prepared. National prestige took priority and the victory of the teams attracted the strong interest of the communist states. This necessitated a highly organized system of team selection.⁶³ The Balkan Games, of course, involved communist states like Bulgaria, Rumania and Yugoslavia where sport was an integrated part of the political system and therefore became an important instrument in government policy. Nevertheless, the organizers of the Balkan Games aspired primarily to create and promote conditions of fair competition, amiable contact and hopeful conciliation between the competing states through sport. The early Ideals of the Games remained in place but coexisted with new ideological imperatives and national rivalries.

The opening ceremony of the 1960 Games took place at the Panathinaikon Stadium in Athens with the now standard five states involved. Constantinos Karamanles, the Greek Prime Minister, was the official guest of honour at the event clearly indicating the political role of the Games.⁶⁴ In the meantime, a Greek government delegation, with George Averof, Foreign Minister, at its head, left for New York to represent Greece at the general session of the Council of the United Nations and to discuss crucial national issues with Selim Sarper, the Turkish Foreign Minister. At the session, the Rumanians proposed the creation of a missile-free zone in the Balkans. The proposal caught the attention of the participants, but it was not discussed further. It was hoped that a meeting between Balkan and Eastern European rulers and foreign ministers might pave the way for the settlement of outstanding issues between Greece and Bulgaria on the one hand and Greece and Albania on the other.⁶⁵ Thus

cooperation in the stadium was mirrored by cooperation at the diplomatic table. In the early 1960s, Greece faced the danger of diplomatic isolation in the region inasmuch as both Turkey and Yugoslavia seemed amenable to the restoration of good relationships with all their neighbours including Albania. The fact that Mehmet Sechu, the Albanian Premier and Marshal Tito travelled together to New York for a General Session of the Council of the United Nations, that Belgrade's foreign policy fell into line with Moscow's and that the Bulgarians and the Turks had reached an agreement on economic and cultural matters, all demonstrated that, after the Second World War, fresh foreign policies were being followed by the Balkan governments. More importantly, the effort to establish relations between Washington and Sofia attracted the interest of the Greek government. The visit to Sofia of George Allen, the former American Ambassador in Athens and Chief of the American Intelligence Service, was seen as an indication of America's intentions. For this reason, at the session of the United Nations, the Greek Foreign Minister was entrusted to discuss with his Bulgarian opposite number the possibility of restoring relationships with Greece under the proviso that Sofia pushes the Macedonian question aside and rejected any territorial claims on Greece.⁶⁶ It should also be mentioned that at the session, Todor Zhivkov of Bulgaria proposed a new Balkan Pact. Turkey was amenable to good relations and trade exchanges with its neighbours while Rumania was mostly interested in a close cooperation with Greece.⁶⁷

To an extent the Games were marching in step with Foreign Offices. Sport often reinforces antagonisms, keeps alive memories of conflicts and defeats of the past and thus increases antipathy, stimulates hostility and controversy. Sport can keep vivid past friction and can contribute to future conflicts.⁶⁸ What concerns this study, however, is the use of sport as an attempted antidote to war, sport as a bloodless competition with the purpose of assuaging bitterness, seeking reconciliation, attempting conciliation and pursuing unity. The Balkan Games were just such an attempt. With trans-Balkan

political relations progressing from bad to better, Belgrade played host to the Games in 1961. Once again Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Turkey participated.⁶⁹ Albania, however, still remained isolated from the rest of the communist states of the area and remained absent from the Games. The increasing sympathy of the Hoxha government towards China resulting from rapprochement between Tito and his successors to Stalin and the fear that Belgrade might suddenly annex part of northern Albania resulted in the rupture of political affiliations between Tirana and Moscow (1961) and worsened relations between Albania and Yugoslavia.⁷⁰ In the 1961 Games, the Yugoslav athletes made an amazing start, but Rumania won first place with a considerable number of new records at national and regional level.⁷¹ As already noted, the communist countries were keenly aware of the advantages that were thought to accrue for the society from sporting success internationally and so prepared their athletes accordingly. As has been made clear, they believed that regional and international meetings could bring recognition and prestige and were, in the view of some communist political leaders, the measure of a nation's viability.⁷² In contrast, the unsatisfactory Greek performances were, regrettably, indicative of the underdevelopment of sport in the early 1960s. The Greek achievements of the prewar Games were now a shadow in the past. Low state subsidies and little government interest in sport resulted in uninspiring performances by Greece.⁷³

It must be very evident by now that the Balkan Games were not simply an athletic event. Their founders expected them to play a political role in the region. In the early twentieth century, the Balkan nations had seldom put understanding and collaboration for the good of the regional peoples ahead of their national interests. Later, although national differences and strife still kept the regional peoples from establishing cooperation in the political domain, they, however, were keen to demonstrate a measure of goodwill and seek channels of positive communication

through culture and sport. So it was that, when once again, five Balkan countries met - this time in Ankara, in 1962, in the presence of General Giursel, President of the Turkish Republic, whose presence yet again emphasized the political role of the Games. Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia impressed everybody with amazing performances and the excitement of the audience enlivened the event.⁷⁴ To make the point again, after the Second World War, the Soviet bloc countries following the example of the Soviet Union and for the same reasons-ideological image, attempted to link the excellent performances of their athletes with the superiority of their socio-political system both at regional and international level. Athletes from the communist states were seen by political leaders as encouraging a sense of pride in their team, nation and political system.⁷⁵ It was not only communist ideology that motivated the governments from the Soviet bloc states to seek superiority in sport. Sport grew up speedily in these countries and increasingly became integral to the building of strong nations with firm national identities. Central control and the well designed application of resources, allied to state priorities and direction of labour, which initially achieved remarkable success in the relatively backward states in the Balkans like Bulgaria and Rumania in constructing the infrastructure of socialist society, provided conditions that were conducive to discovering, training and promoting talented athletes in specific sports with the purpose of promoting communism and nationalism.⁷⁶

Nevertheless, the Balkan Games is a virtually unknown attempt to bring nations together in a spirit of goodwill and unity in order to achieve political and diplomatic cooperation between the regional peoples in the twentieth century.⁷⁷ 1963 proved to be a significant year in the history of the postwar Balkan Games. It saw the first Albanian involvement. For the first time after the resumption of the Games, Albania competed with the other Balkan countries. After a ten-year absence, Albania felt that it had been satisfactorily prepared. More significantly, it had decided to escape from its isolation by

seeking contact with the regional states, at least, through sport. This fact pleased the Balkan world of sport, which now saw an increase in the number of the competing states and anticipated further diplomatic collaboration. The Games were held in Sofia. Recognising the political and diplomatic importance of the event, the Vice-president of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers graced it with his presence and welcomed athletes, delegates, diplomats and journalists now from six Balkan countries. This fact ensured that it was a meeting held in a special spirit of cooperation and conciliation.⁷⁸ The 1964 Games in Bucharest with five countries involved again saw the triumph of the Rumanians, whose supremacy over their competitors was sensational and undisputed. The unsatisfactory Greek performances disappointed sports enthusiasts and provoked negative comment. The Greek athletes failed to achieve the expected performances. A diagnosis of the causes was required. Good preparation was the prerequisite for future good performances. Well-designed plans were required to bring about improvements. The Greek world of sport hoped against hope for a better outcome at the next meeting.⁷⁹ Sport is a significant element in world society and in different ways and different degrees it is an element in most governments' domestic and foreign policies. Greece had failed to recognise this. Other Balkan states had not!

Athletes from Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Turkey and Greece met at the Athens Panathinaikon Stadium in 1965. Ceremonies and athletic events now took place at different stadiums. After the oath, fifty runners with olive wreaths on their heads, symbols of peace and friendship, entered the Panathinaikon Stadium to the strains of the chorus, which was singing the Olympic hymn.⁸⁰ Albania was not present. It was looking beyond the Balkans towards China for a strong political ally to offset the influence of Moscow. Albania's absence from the Games in Athens, two years after its first involvement in the postwar Games, was one of the items on the agenda at the meeting of the sports representatives. The Greek organising committee had invited the

Albanian Sports Association to the meeting. In consequence, on this occasion Albania had nothing to reproach Greece for, having been given the opportunity to compete as Greece believed that the time was now suitable.⁸¹ The closing ceremony was marked by a moving innovation: instead of the customary parade, the Balkan athletes, winners and losers together, entered the stadium and were greeted with warm applause. This symbolic manifestation was a further measure to demonstrate that the Games were capable of bringing the nations of the area together in understanding and unity despite unresolved national conflicts. At the Games, public amity replaced public enmity. At these Games the Rumanians triumphed yet again. Bulgaria came second followed by Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey. In that order, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria were clearly the dominant three countries.⁸² In these three communist countries sport was seriously employed in the pursuit of specific political and social objectives.⁸³ To reiterate a now familiar argument, sport was a political institution run by the government with the result that in the Balkans, in sport, at least, democracy was losing out to totalitarianism.

A year later, more than two thousand and fifty athletes and a great number of journalists and sports representatives from the Balkan Peninsula met in Sarajevo, Yugoslavia. Politicians and diplomats from the competing countries were present at the meeting once again demonstrating their political commitment to this regional event. The Rumanians yet again put up amazing performances and took first place.⁸⁴ The Rumanian nation was proud of sport's evolution in the country and aspired to further successes at international level. Turkey, in contrast to Rumania, had poor performance. However, a Turkish runner won the Marathon and this victory boosted the morale of a depressed national team.⁸⁵ Athens hosted the 1968 Games with M. Pein, Secretary General of the International Association of Sport as official guest. Albania again stayed away.⁸⁶ The Games saw poor Greek performances whereas the

Bulgarians produced impressive performances and achieved the highest number of points.⁸⁷ The dictatorial regime in Greece from 1967, poor state subsidies in sport, inefficient local authority management of local sports and leisure facilities and little government interest continued to have a negative impact on the development of modern sport.⁸⁸ In the official addresses, the future of the Games took priority. Again and again it was stressed that the postwar Games were expected to operate as a political, diplomatic and cultural link between the Balkan nations in the precisely same way as the prewar Games.⁸⁹ Furthermore, by contrast with Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania and Yugoslavia-communist states-took great concern for sport particularly for three main reasons: they regarded sport as a source of national pride and patriotism; they believed that talented athletes should be supported and promoted the same as the talented actors, musicians or scientists and utilised sport as an instrument of foreign policy.⁹⁰ Thus they anticipated that unity between the communist states would be strengthened through sport and aspired to display the advantages of the communist style of life through sporting achievements regionally and internationally.

Although serious political issues, such as the Macedonian question, still divided the Balkan nations and was a barrier to trans-Balkan collaboration, sport saw the Balkan peoples united, at least momentarily, in celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the Games at the 'Vasili Lefski' Stadium of Sofia in 1969 in the now mandatory presence of politicians and diplomats, who traditionally opened the event. Political leaders, of course, invariably utilise sport as a source of political popularity. Association with top athletes and national teams has been a constant political action.⁹¹ The Balkan Games, however, stimulated Balkan politicians to promote the regional political role of the Games and to use them to bring together the nations of the region despite ideological differences and diverse cultural traditions. In a spirit of goodwill and cooperation, more than three hundred athletes from Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania,

Turkey and Greece met in Bucharest a year later. Albania still went its own way. Greece now broke several national and regional records.⁹² The satisfactory Greek performances appeased, to some extent, the general discontent in the Greek world of sport and stemmed negative comments. Despite some good Greek efforts, however, the unfailing government support of sport in communist Bulgaria, Rumania and Yugoslavia continued to have a positive impact on their athletes' performances throughout the 1960s. Year after year, these three states broke many regional records and their achievements won the admiration of the Balkan world of sport.⁹³

With trans-Balkan relations still in crisis due largely to controversy over the Macedonian question, the Games stepped into the 1970s and Zagreb hosted the 1971 Games. The excellent performances of the Yugoslav team guaranteed Yugoslavia the prestigious first place. Yugoslav sport again triumphed.⁹⁴ Smyrna hosted the Games in 1972. The Turkish politicians, who opened the Games, welcomed the athletes and delegates and yet again voiced the well-intended cliché that the postwar Games could play a positive political role stressing Balkan similarities rather than differences.⁹⁵ Hell-bent on a victory, after an interminable period of bad performances, the Greek national team attempted to regain some of the glory of the past. It was successful. Greece came first. It was a start. Careful preparations, however, were the prerequisite for successful competition in the future.⁹⁶ Athens hosted the twenty-first postwar Games in 1973, a year of marked political turmoil in Greece, which had been suffering a dictatorship since 1967. Political unrest came to a head in the Polytechnic uprising in November 1973, which paved the way for political change in July 1974 and the restoration of democracy.⁹⁷ The Games temporarily distracted Greeks from political confrontation. The Greeks achieved a dynamic start and broke several national and regional records. Despite the turmoil of the time, Greece was now optimistic about further improvement in performances and expected that promising athletes would

increasingly emerge as the nation took its sport more and more seriously.⁹⁸ Twenty years after their resuscitation, the Games, deeply rooted in the hearts of the Balkan peoples, followed their course. In the official addresses of the 1973 opening ceremony, in consequence, the Games were reviewed in brief with particular emphasis laid on the fact that they had been inaugurated in a complex and confused political situation in the Balkans where good and bad relations alternated with amazing speed. Misgivings, reservations, economic problems and national disputes had not arrested the prospects of the Games in the 1930s.⁹⁹ Strong emotions experienced by performers and spectators at the prewar Games had become an indelible memory and the profound desire for understanding and collaboration after the Second World War had resulted in the Games' resumption in 1953. Balkan performances had improved over the years and the Games had become an integral part of the athletic, social and cultural life in the area. There have been many negative comments on the role of sport in international relations. It has been pointed out many times that sport fuels ambitions for the international dominance of the competing states in the political, economic and other domains and that sport is not only ineffective as a means for the promotion of peace, but it also reinforces nationalism and political confrontation.

With inter-Balkan relations in a climate of acute suspicion, Sofia hosted the Games in 1974 in which again five states were involved. The Games coincided with tragic political developments in Greece and Cyprus. An unsuccessful attempt on the life of Archbishop Makarios in Cyprus ostensibly provoked the Turkish invasion of the island. Full military mobilisation took place in Greece. Turkey and Greece were brought to the verge of war. The events in Cyprus incited the Greek people to political revolt, which resulted in the collapse of dictatorship.¹⁰⁰ Despite the gravity of the situation and hostility between Greece and Turkey, a small number of Greek athletes were involved in the Games.¹⁰¹ In spite of the difficult political context, the Balkan Games went well

unaffected by political dissension. Despite serious political distractions, the Greek government attempted to advance the profile of Greek sport and to improve its performance in the Balkan Games and International events. From 1975 onwards, the Karamanles government implemented a new domestic policy aimed at the political and economic reconstruction of the country and took considerable measures to promote sport. State subsidies to the sports associations were a positive step for satisfactory preparation of the athletes, who thus were expected to be up to the task of competing successfully, at least, at regional level. The creation of modern stadiums, swimming pools and playing grounds both in urban areas and rural districts rekindled the interest of the young in various modern sports and provided Greece with the possibility of hosting international events.¹⁰²

In a spirit of unity and goodwill, the 1975 Games, with five Balkan states involved, took place at the 'Republichi' Stadium in Bucharest. Yugoslavians, Bulgarians and Rumanians endeavoured to outdo each other and to distinguish themselves at regional level. The Rumanians achieved first place followed by Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Turkey in the last place.¹⁰³ Recognising the political and diplomatic role the Games, Achilles Karamanles, Undersecretary at the Premier's Office and Constantinos Papanastassiou, Sports Advisor to the Prime Minister, travelled to Celje, Yugoslavia for the 1976 Games.¹⁰⁴ In the second half of the twentieth century, politicians of many countries presented themselves as sports enthusiasts, attended highly publicised sports events and were keen to associate themselves with athletes and national teams that distinguished themselves internationally.¹⁰⁵ In the Balkans, however, faced with a climate of suspicion and hostility, government and sports representatives aspired to create channels of communication that might go beyond temporary feelings of togetherness. Following well-intended ambitions, at the session in Belgrade, in a spirit of good will and collaboration, A. Karamanles, C.

Papanastassiou and the Greek Ambassador to Yugoslavia discussed with Balkan sports representatives the possibilities for further cooperation in sport and culture and the participation of states of the Eastern Mediterranean in the Games. For unknown reasons, no progress was made in the discussions.¹⁰⁶ The 1976 Games coincided with the Olympic Games in Montreal, Canada, which caught the attention of top Balkan athletes and in consequence the number of the involved athletes in the Balkan Games was considerably small. Nevertheless, Rumania again came first with Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey in the second, third, fourth and fifth place respectively.¹⁰⁷

Although a cholera epidemic was sweeping through Asia in 1977¹⁰⁸ and raised serious questions about whether the Games should be held in Turkey, Ankara was the city, which staged the scheduled event. Greece offered to host them but the Turks, who were keen to stage this important regional event, declined the offer and the national teams met in Turkey. Turkish politicians and Balkan government representatives, in the official addresses, inevitably declared their desire for collaboration and peace.¹⁰⁹ The second Albanian participation in the postwar Games, fifteen years after the first involvement in 1963, marked the following Games in 1978, which were held for the first time in Thessaloniki, Greece¹¹⁰ Following trade agreements two years earlier, it was hoped that contact through sport might further improvement in Greco-Albanian relations.¹¹¹ A very small team of three men and two women athletes represented Albania. The Albanian athletes struggled and finally had the notable success. They broke the regional record in pole vaulting. Sport in Albania had begun to grow.¹¹² Greece eventually took the lead over formerly dominant unbeatable Rumanians, Bulgarians and Yugoslavs and took first place. After a long period of failures and disappointments, this achievement boosted the morale of the Greek world of sport and raised hopes for further wins.¹¹³

The golden jubilee of the Balkan Games was celebrated in Athens in August 1979 in a festive atmosphere.¹¹⁴ Apart from Albania, which had notified the organising committee that it would stay away from the Games as it was insufficiently prepared, many athletes from Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece were involved and among them a great number of Balkan champions. More than a hundred journalists from Greece and abroad covered the event.¹¹⁵ Two days prior to the opening ceremony, which was scheduled for the 8th of August, various cultural events took place. An exhibition of medals, diplomas and photos of the prewar and postwar Games was held at the Hall of the Zappeion Mansion, which evoked powerful memories of the past.¹¹⁶ The annual session of the sports representatives opened with great solemnity at the Athens Hilton Hotel on the first day of the Games. The presence of Constantinos Tsatsos, President of the Hellenic Republic, Constantinos Karamanles, Prime Minister, Balkan ministers of sport, undersecretaries, heads of the national teams and press representatives demonstrated the political and cultural significance of the Games' anniversary.¹¹⁷ Achilles Karamanles, Undersecretary at the Premier's Office, who addressed the distinguished audience, observed:

...The postwar Games have emerged from the ashes of the Second World War and, over the years, have regained their old reputation. Despite the unsettled trans-Balkan differences, the Games have again become a link between the peoples of the area and have established trans-Balkan cooperation for almost fifty years.¹¹⁸

The political and diplomatic role of the Games again rose to the surface.

Adrian Paulen from Holland, President of the International Sport Association, enthusiastically spoke about the improvement of the athletes' performances year after year and remarked that 'geographical and historical links together with relations in sport and culture went a long way to restoring hope and trust in the Balkans.'¹¹⁹ Trendafil Martinski, the Bulgarian Minister of Physical Education and Sport, who followed Paulen in the official addresses, revealed his admiration for the positive political and diplomatic role of the Games in the area:

...The ideal concept of sport in general and the Games in particular is deeply rooted in the hearts of the Balkan peoples and it is no accident that this southern corner of Europe has also been the location of the ancient Olympic Games...The Games set a stimulating example to other peoples: they have been established despite national conflicts, territorial claims and financial disputes and in the face of grave economic difficulties. Thus they are a source of hope and a symbol of goodwill and cooperation.¹²⁰

Trpe Jakovlevski, representative of the Yugoslav Federation of Physical Education, pointed out that the Games established contact between athletes, government and sports representatives from six countries with different cultural backgrounds, religion, language and political ideology, all amenable to the promotion of friendship, peace and collaboration. Jakovlevski concluded by saying that 'the Yugoslavs are proud that they have supported and promoted the Greek proposal for the establishment of the Games in 1929.'¹²¹ Another who clearly appreciated the significance of the occasion was General Marin Dragnea, Chairman of the Rumanian Olympic Committee. Dragnea described the Balkan Games as 'a source of inter-Balkan cooperation' and added that 'collaboration between the Balkan peoples in the areas of trade, culture and sport is an associated matter of concern to the Rumanian government.'¹²² Finally, Yuksel Cakmur, the Turkish Minister for Youth and Sport, remarked:

...The language of sport is a language common to all...Such rapture, enthusiasm and excitement create and promote emotional unity, which support and strengthen peoples' will to smooth away difficulties and set disagreements aside.¹²³

In these words the Turkish Minister expressed his firm belief that the athletes involved in the Games opened up channels of communication stimulating the Balkan peoples to live peacefully in a world without violent conflicts and intransigent policies.

The elegant expressions of approval, goodwill and support expressed by these men were clearly prompted by the occasion and glossed over savage periods of vicious warfare and political oppression in which there was a marked lack of cooperation, rapprochement and conciliation in the Balkans. But optimism and eulogy

were constructive and well meant and preferable to cynicism and despair. Idealism is as crucial to survival as realism. Furthermore, there was more than an element of truth in their sanguine comments. There were beneficial consequences arising out of the Balkan Games. They had become a source of hope, goodwill and experience. Balkan athletes had failed to compete successfully at international meetings in the 1920s, which had resulted in the creation of the Games. This was stressed by the speakers. And fifty years later, athletes from the Balkan Peninsula were achieving excellent performances at European level. Even more significantly, women athletes, who participated in the Games in 1957 for the first time, were gaining prestigious distinctions and equality in sport.¹²⁴ Figure 7.1 lists the postwar Games from 1953 to 1979.

FIGURE 7.1

Year	Venue	No. of states represented	Date	Venue	No. of states represented
1953	Athens	3	1966	Sarajevo	5
1954	Belgrade	3	1967	Constantinople	5
1955	Constantinople	3	1968	Athens	5
1956	Belgrade	5	1969	Sofia	5
1957	Athens	5	1970	Bucharest	5
1958	Sofia	5	1971	Zagreb	5
1959	Bucharest	5	1972	Smyrna	5
1960	Athens	5	1973	Athens	6
1961	Belgrade	5	1974	Sofia	5
1962	Ankara	5	1975	Bucharest	5
1963	Sofia	6	1976	Celie	5
1964	Bucharest	5	1977	Ankara	5
1965	Athens	5	1978	Thessaloniki	6
			1979	Athens	5

YEAR, VENUE AND NUMBER OF REPRESENTED STATES IN THE POSTWAR GAMES FROM 1953 TO 1979.

From their initiation in 1929 until 1986, the Balkan Games were held on an annual basis. However, it was suggested in 1986 that the Games should take place every two years to allow for the better preparation of the competitions. Thus, they were held in Ankara in 1988, but a year later there was a change in their schedule when Greece proposed to stage the Games in Athens, although it was not its turn, so as to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Games' establishment in the place where they had taken place for the first time. Thus, the Balkan sports representatives, who met in Athens, had the opportunity of discussing whether or not the Games should again become an annual event.¹²⁵ Although the 1990s saw an increase in the number of the competing states with the involvement of the Former Yugoslavian Democracy of Macedonia (FYROM) and the addition of many modern sports, however, the Games began to falter. Top Balkan athletes preferred involvement in international meetings to the Games thus aspiring to the distinction of being world athletes.¹²⁶ Nevertheless and despite their problems, the Games stepped into the twenty-first century and still are an annual regional event. A tradition had been established and maintained. The contribution of the Games to promoting conciliation, unity and collaboration was recognised. The Balkans have been tested harshly in the recent past. Thus the prospects for the Games in the twenty-first century and their political and diplomatic role in a region where nationalism, military operations and border changes still stand on the way of peace and good fellowship merits consideration. The 1999 Balkan conference on sport will be now discussed in brief.

7.2 The 1999 Balkan conference on sport

In the minds of most people throughout the world the Balkans have been identified with friction and conflict, an image protected by the developments in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. The notion of 'balkanization', which entered political

discourse at the end of the Great War does not simply suggest disintegration into smaller states; it has also become synonymous with calculated dehumanization and purposeful inhumanity. The image of the Balkans as the 'trouble spot' of Europe has overshadowed the rich cultural interaction and collaboration that occurred in the area in the twentieth century.¹²⁷ In the context of a long-term cultural collaboration between the nations of the Balkan Peninsula, sport in general and, over the decades, the Balkan Games in particular became an integral component. For this reason, the future of the Games at the dawn of the twenty-first century was the main item on the agenda at the meeting of the Balkan ministers of sport in Rhodes in the late 1990s. The Balkan Conference on Sport was held in January 1999 under the patronage of the Greek Ministry of Culture and opened at the magnificent Castle of Knights in the town of Rhodes. Bulgaria, Albania, Serbia, Rumania, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia and Turkey all sent their representatives.¹²⁸

Andreas Phouras, the Greek Undersecretary of Sport, gave the guests a warm welcome. He began his speech with a comprehensive review of the history of the Balkan peoples and then reviewed the Games constructively:

...For many centuries, nations of different culture, religion and language have lived together in the Balkans. Regrettably, many times in the past territorial claims, nationalistic and religious differences have brought the Balkan nations to military confrontation. The Games were inaugurated at the moment that the wounds from the Balkan Wars and the Great War had been healed but national conflicts still existed. In an attempt at peace and unity, the Games were founded in 1929 and year after year became the most arresting social and cultural event in the area ushering in a new epoch of Balkan sport. The Games were viewed as a pragmatic means for rapprochement and collaboration in the region. The outbreak of the Second World War ended them abruptly. Thirteen years later, they resumed in Athens in 1953 and the news of their resumption spread enthusiasm in the Balkan world of sport. In the last two decades of the twentieth century, however, the Games have fallen into relative decay. In an attempt to prevent further decay, Greece suggested at the 1985 meeting of the Balkan sports representatives in Athens that broader cultural events could enrich and enliven the Games. The dramatic developments in Yugoslavia, however, in the early 1990s ended all efforts to realise the proposal.¹²⁹

The war in former Yugoslavia in the early 1990s woke anguished memories of the two World Wars. At the time when Europe endeavoured to confront problems generated by mass emigration, regional social inequalities and multicultural communities, the nations of Southeastern Europe had advanced territorial claims and pursued ethnic homogeneity by means of war.¹³⁰ Despite the tragic Balkan scene, some of the participants in the 1999 Sports Congress pointed out optimistically that 'fresh political and economic developments raised hopes in the twenty-first century for cooperation in various fields regionally and internationally.'¹³¹ In particular, sport had made gigantic strides globally and now played a key role in the prestige of modern societies. It was widely recognised as a social phenomenon that could unite communities and establish harmonious relations between nations. The Balkan ministers of sport, therefore, agreed that the traditions of the Games should be kept alive and that the Games can successfully survive into the twenty-first century if, on one hand, they foster and promote the values of the prewar Games and, on the other, if athletes and sports representatives accept and observe the regulations.¹³²

Ministers and delegates, who attended the Congress at Rhodes, examined the ways in which sport, in an uneasy social and political situation globally, could promote good fellowship and understanding. Without ignoring or underestimating economic and other difficulties, but keen to advance peace and harmony and to hand on this asset to posterity, the Balkan ministers of sport unanimously agreed that to finance the Games was a moral obligation of both the Balkan governments and the world of sport. The Greek representatives declared that 'further trans-Balkan cooperation in sport and culture is a national goal. However, it depends on the governments and sport promoters to support the Games morally and financially.'¹³³ As a first step to this direction, the Greek Secretariat General of Sport together with the International Athletic Association agreed to fund the renovation of the Dynamo Stadium in Tirana, Albania

was thus given the possibility to host the Games in the future.¹³⁴ There was also agreement on the revision of the Games' regulations. The involvement of Bosnia-Herzegovina was scheduled to be discussed at one of the following meetings. The Balkan delegates were to meet in Thessaloniki, Greece in an effort to arrange technical matters and to set the conditions for the athletes' preparation.¹³⁵ The sports representatives, however, declared that 'if the Games do not receive a generous government financial support, their success in the twenty-first century will remain uncertain. Resources can be secured by sponsorship and the exploitation of television rights.'¹³⁶ It was also suggested that top athletes should be encouraged to participate in the Games in an attempt to upgrade and enliven the event.¹³⁷

It was further argued that strenuous efforts to improve and strengthen inter-Balkan collaboration through sport would open up sanguine horizons for the Games. In addition, harmonious cooperation between government and sports representatives could realise once again the preservation and promotion of unity and collaboration in the Balkans. Cooperation was of vital importance to the area. The Balkan governments, the world of sport and the media thus had a moral obligation to support and give an impulse to the Games, which could inspire the Balkan nations bringing them together in a spirit of goodwill and understanding and providing a stimulus for future achievements. It was stressed that the extent of the Games' impact on trans-Balkan relations in the twenty-first century depended on the way the meetings would be staged and publicised. If emphasis was not laid on competitive success, the number of medals achieved and on national superiority then there was real hope for regional cooperation.¹³⁸ In a common communiqué, the Balkan sports representatives reported:

...A common love of sport can establish bonds of good fellowship between nations. The prewar Balkan Games have provided a stimulating example of unity between traditionally antagonistic nations. They became a political, diplomatic and social force in a turbulent period, which was characterised by friction, suspicion and distrust. In the twenty-first century the Games should continue to be an important social

and cultural event in the region and should be staged in a way whereby differences among the participants nations are sympathetically recognised and close collaboration is sought and promoted.¹³⁹

Yet again, the political and diplomatic role of the Games in the region was clearly recognised and appreciated.

Conclusion

After a thirteen-year interruption the Games resumed officially in 1953 and again became a regular annual event in the Balkans, although the Macedonian question resurfaced after the Second World War and had a negative impact on relations between Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. The attempts to revive the Games in some form or other despite the resurgence of nationalism in the Balkans in the second half of the twentieth century bear testimony to a surviving belief in the value of the Games as a means of contact and collaboration. A high value was set by the Balkan world of sport on the political role of the Games as a means of rapprochement. In the late twentieth century, however, despite some earlier encouraging moves towards cooperation, harmony and peace, sadly trans-Balkan relationships were again overshadowed by ethnic conflicts. Nevertheless, the Balkan states are geopolitical transformed inasmuch as they are now in the middle of a broad market, which includes the Black Sea, the former Soviet Union and Central Asia thus providing many opportunities for business activities and cultural and political collaboration between nations.¹⁴⁰ Chapter eight, in the form of conclusion, will sum up the main points of this study.

¹ Anderson, M.S., The Eastern Question, London: McMillan, 1983, pp. 35-38.

² Zotiades, George, The Macedonian Controversy, Second Edition, Thessaloniki: Society for Macedonian Studies, 1961, pp. 8-9. With the revival of the nationalities in the Balkans in the nineteenth century, the Macedonian question, in its modern setting, took form. Macedonia had been entirely Greek for a long part of its history. In the middle Ages it was under the hegemony of the Byzantine Empire, with its northern areas being alternately under the Bulgarians or the Serbians, until they were all conquered by the Turks. But the memory of their sovereignty lived on. Macedonia politically was under the Turks and ecclesiastically under the Ecumenical Patriarch. When about 1835, the Bulgarians began recovering the consciousness of their national existence their first aim was to emancipate themselves from the ecclesiastical rule of the Greeks. In 1870 the Bulgarians rejected the offer of internal autonomy made to them by the Ecumenical Patriarchate and motivated by political and national aspirations insisted on the appointment of Bulgarian Bishop in Macedonia to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction side by side with the Greek Bishops. The demand was rejected, but the Bulgarians, with the powerful backing of the Russian Pan-Slaves, proceeded to obtain from the Sultan the 'firman' of March 11th 1870, by which they were recognized as a separate nation under their own religious chief, the Bulgarian Eparchy. Thus the ecclesiastical independence of Bulgaria is usually accepted as the origin of the Macedonian dispute. For more details, See Vakalopoulos, Constantinos, To Makedoniko Zitima: Genessi-Diamorphossi-Exelisi-Lyssi (The Macedonian Question: The Birth-Formation-Development-Solution), vol. 1, Tourkokratia, 1856-1912 (The Turkish Occupation, 1856-1912), Thessaloniki: Parateretes, 1993, pp. 53-75.

³ Zotiades, George, The Macedonian Controversy, op. cit., p. 9.

⁴ Ibid., p. 10.

⁵ Vakalopoulos, Constantinos, To Makedoniko Zitima: Genessi-Diamorphossi-Exelisi-Lyssi (The Macedonian Question: Creation-Formation-Development-Solution), op. cit., p. 177. Actions of terrorism perpetrated by the 'komitadjis' in Thessaloniki were followed in 1903 by revolt in the interior of Macedonia, known as the 'Ilinden' revolution. The rebellion was rapidly quashed by the Turks, who massacred several thousands of Christian peasants. The situation in Macedonia drew world attention to the Ottoman misadministration and on 30 September 1903, the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary and the Czar Nicholas II met at Murzsteg and an Austrian-Russian agreement was concluded on reforms in Macedonia. The agreement, known as the 'Murzsteg programme', provided for the division of Macedonia into five sections under the protection of Russia, Austria, France, Italy and Great Britain. See Mintsis, Georgios, History of the Macedonian Question, Thessaloniki: Society for Macedonian Studies, 1998, pp. 29-32.

⁶ Zotiades, George, The Macedonian Controversy, op. cit., pp. 15-17. The developments made the Great Powers particularly concerned. On 10 June 1908, a meeting was held in Raval among King Edward VII of Britain, Czar Nicholas II of Russia and Sir Harding, the British Ambassador. A decision was made for an Anglo-Russian programme of new reforms in Macedonia, which, however, was never carried out. The events that took place in European Turkey culminated in July in 1908 in the

'Young Turk Revolution'. A constitutional regime was established in Constantinople and a policy of 'turkification' was initiated in Macedonia.

⁷ Geshkoff, Theodore, Balkan Union. A Road to Peace in Southeastern Europe, op. cit, p. 65.

⁸ Zotiades, George, The Macedonian Controversy, op. cit., p. 17.

⁹ Ibid., p. 18.

¹⁰ The division of Macedonia was sanctioned by the Treaty of Neuilly, agreed by Bulgaria and the allies in November 1919. The Yugoslav-Bulgarian border was slightly modified and the Strumitza Strip of Bulgarian Macedonia was yielded to Yugoslavia. See Zotiades, George, The Macedonian Controversy, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

¹¹ In the early 1920s (1922-1924), the policy adopted by the Comintern and the Balkan Communist Federation, in which the Balkan communist parties were represented, provided for the foundation of an 'independent and united Macedonia (and Thrace)', which would consist of the geographical districts of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Greece. Despite the initial reservations, the Communist Party of Greece and Yugoslavia eventually came into line with the Comintern. The Greek Communist Party, however, decided, at its Sixth Congress in December 1935, to adopt a fresh line concerning the Macedonian question, replacing the phrase 'independent and united Macedonia' with this of 'complete equality for all the minorities.' See Macedonia: History and Politics, Athens: Ekdotiki Athinon, 1991, pp. 19-23.

¹² Ibid., pp. 24-26.

¹³ Roucek, Joseph, Balkan Politics: International Relations in no Man's Land, op. cit., pp. 164-166. Yugoslavia in adopting the Bulgarian plan capitalized in the Bulgarian I.M.R.O. slogan 'Macedonia for the Macedonians', which sounded well to the liberal peoples of Europe and America. Ever since, many efforts have been made by the certain political circles in Yugoslav Macedonia to convince the international society that Macedonia is a separate nation, that its inhabitants form a distinct nationality called 'Macedonians' and that the 'Macedonians' demand unity and independence for their country, which is now divided between Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia, See also Zotiades, George, The Macedonian Controversy, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

¹⁴ Mintsis, Georgios, History of the Macedonian Question, op. cit., pp. 53-54.

¹⁵ Zotiades, George, The Macedonian Controversy, op. cit., pp. 75-76.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 77-79.

¹⁷ During the German occupation of Yugoslavia, the population of Yugoslav Macedonia, discontented with the Serbian administration, greeted the Bulgarian army in 1941 as liberators. Even the local communist leaders seceded from the Yugoslav Party and joined the Bulgarian counterpart. The inconsiderate behaviour, however, of the Bulgarian authorities eventually generated hostility between the local population and the Bulgarian occupation forces. It was at this critical moment that the Yugoslav communists announced their manifesto for the post-war reorganization of the Yugoslav state on federal basis. One of the six federal republics was to be the 'Socialistic

Republic of Macedonia', whose Slav population would acquire a new name, that of 'Macedonian'. See Zotiades, George, The Macedonian Controversy, op. cit., p. 79.

¹⁸ Tito's goal was not only to achieve the union between the Yugoslav and Bulgarian Macedonia under his leadership. He appeared to have decided to incorporate the Greek Macedonia as well. The Greeks became aware of Tito's designs when the Yugoslav delegate to Paris Peace Conference submitted memorandum demanding the independent status for Macedonia. The split between Joseph Stalin and Tito, which occurred suddenly in the summer of 1948, upset the Yugoslavian designs about playing a leading role in the Balkans. Bulgaria seized the opportunity to release itself from concessions it had agreed earlier and repudiated the existence of the 'Macedonian nation' driving the commissars from Skopje away from the Bulgarian territory. Moscow appeared, from that time on, to revert to the traditional policy of Bulgaria's support. The Bulgarian and Yugoslav Parties launched a campaign of accusations and counter-accusations. Bulgaria became again the favourite country of Moscow and the enemy of both Yugoslavia and Greece. See Zotiades, George, The Macedonian Controversy, op. cit., pp. 84-93.

¹⁹ Mintsis, Georgios, History of the Macedonian Question, op. cit., pp. 77-79.

²⁰ Zotiades, George, The Macedonian Controversy, op. cit., pp. 101-104.

²¹ Historia tou Hellinikou Ethnous (History of the Greek Nation), vol. 16, op. cit., pp. 244-245; Mintsis, Georgios, History of the Macedonian Question, op. cit., p. 78. The 1953 trilateral agreement was, in effect, an opportunist convention that aimed at protecting Yugoslavia from the threat posed by the *Cominform* countries and therefore did not last long. In consequence, from 1961 onwards, it was regarded as dead document, although none of the three signatories took the responsibility of the official denouncement.

²² Zotiades, George, The Macedonian Controversy, op. cit., p. 106.

²³ Although Yugoslav-Bulgarian relationships were strained between 1948 and 1955, they had taken a turn for the better after Stalin's death in March 1953 and Moscow's reunion with Belgrade. Despite, however, some sanguine signs, in spring of 1958, the Union of the Yugoslav Communists, which consisted of the Communist Parties of the six Federative Republics (Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Macedonia) came into conflict with the Chinese and Soviet Communist Parties, which accused Tito of revisionism and characterized him ally of the West. As a result, Bulgaria's good relations with Yugoslavia were disturbed and the differences concerning the Macedonian question emerged again. Finally, by 1961, Yugoslavian-USSR relations began gradually improving as it was demonstrated by high Soviet officials' visits to Belgrade in September 1962, followed by Yugoslav officials' visits to Moscow in December of the same year. In the years of unstable diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, 'Skopjian' propaganda continued diffusing that the People's Republic of Macedonia was the only independent part of the 'Macedonian' nation and that Bulgarian and Greek Macedonia should be united with it. See Mintsis, Georgios, History of the Macedonian Question, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

²⁴ One of the measures taken by the G. Papandreou government was this of the restoration of free transit across the Greek-Yugoslav borders. The move was exploited again by nationalistic members of the Skopje government to launch an aggressive

propaganda against Greece. It was in this climate of revived suspicion that the Greek Premier visited Belgrade in 1965 in the hope of inaugurating a new era in relations between the two countries. A little later, in the time of the 'apostate' governments, that is, the governments of defectors, which followed G. Papandreou's ejection from power, the Macedonian question, in the form of Yugoslav demand for the recognition of the 'Macedonian' minority in Greece continued to embitter relations. The military coup in Greece on 21 April 1967 generated new friction. The Skopje leaders demanded the diplomatic isolation of Greece and tried to draw the attention of international public opinion to what they called the genocide of the 'Macedonian' minority. The Yugoslav propaganda came to an abrupt end when the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia took place in 1968. Tito, being opposed to the invasion, began to be afraid of Soviet intervention in Yugoslavia, particularly since Bulgaria had hastened to fall into line with the decisions of the Warsaw Pact and had sent troops to Prague. See Kofos, Evangelos, "The Macedonian Question from the Second World War to the Present Day", in Koliopoulos, Ioannis and Hassiotis, Ioannis (eds), Macedonia: History-Economy-Society-Culture, vol. 2, Thessaloniki: Papazissis Publishers and Parateretes, n.d., pp. 272-274.

²⁵ Nonetheless, the Skopjan government had lobbied Belgrade on this position, a fact, which resulted in high tension in trans-Balkan relations. The Yugoslavs asserted that there was a separate 'Slavic-Macedonian' ethnic group, which included the residents of the Macedonian area as it was defined during the Ottoman occupation of the region, regardless of whether or not they spoke the Slav language. They also stated that the 'Socialist Republic of Macedonia' within the Yugoslav Federation was the state of the 'Macedonian' nation. In addition, Yugoslavia claimed that there were still 'Slavo-Macedonians' in Greek and Bulgarian Macedonia. Therefore, Yugoslavia demanded that they should be granted special minority rights that is, free use of their national language and establishment of minority schools. It is no coincident that Belgrade came into conflict with both Athens and Sofia inasmuch as neither Greece nor Bulgaria admitted the existence of 'Macedonian' minority on their territories. See Mintsis, Georgios, History of the Macedonian Question, op. cit., pp. 80-82.

²⁶ Kofos, Evangelos, "The Macedonian Question from the Second World War to the Present Day", in Koliopoulos, Ioannis and Hassiotis, Ioannis (eds), Macedonia: History-Economy-Society-Culture, op. cit., p. 275. Furthermore, relations between Belgrade and Sofia went through a new crisis in 1968 resulting from the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Following the painful impact of the Czechoslovakian crisis and the declaration of the Brezhnev doctrine, particularly after 1974, the ice between the two sides began melting little by little when the countries of the two blocs-East and West-agreed the Helsinki Final Act of 1975. In the wake of these developments, fresh talks between Sofia and Belgrade took place from 1975 until 1977 in an effort to settle the dispute. Official documents revealed that the Presidents Tito and Zhivkov had an unofficial meeting in Helsinki in 1975 at which they decided to set up a special commission to inquire into controversial issues. The Commission met in Sofia in September 1976 and in Zagreb in April 1977, but no progress was made due to disagreement on the Macedonian question. The Yugoslavs proposed a joint declaration, which would acknowledge the existence of the 'Macedonian' nation and would recognise the rights of the 'Macedonian' minority in Bulgaria. The failure of the negotiations was inevitable. See Kofos, Evangelos, "The Macedonian Question from the Second World War to the Present Day", in Koliopoulos, Ioannis and Hassiotis, Ioannis (eds), Macedonia: History-Economy-Society-Culture, op. cit., p. 278.

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- ²⁷ Mintsis, Georgios, History of the Macedonian Question, op. cit., pp. 83-84.
- ²⁸ Koukouroglou, B., "Balkanikoi Agones (The Balkan Games)", in Encyclopedia Papyrus Larousse Britannica, vol. 13, Athens: Papyrus, 1981, pp. 210-212.
- ²⁹ Kathimerini, 28 June 1953.
- ³⁰ Kofos, Evangelos, "The Macedonian Question from the Second World War to the Present Day", in Koliopoulos, Ioannis and Hassiotis, Ioannis (eds), Macedonia: History-Economy-Society-Culture, op. cit., p. 270.
- ³¹ Ibid., p. 270.
- ³² Mazower, Mark, The Balkans, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2000, pp.220-221.
- ³³ Relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union had reached a point of high tense from 1948 until 1953, after the rift between Stalin and Tito and the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Cominform. See Kofos, Evangelos, "The Macedonian Question from the Second World War to the Present Day", in Koliopoulos, Ioannis and Hassiotis, Ioannis (eds), Macedonia: History-Economy-Society-Culture, op. cit., p. 278.
- ³⁴ Ibid., p. 271.
- ³⁵ Kathimerini, 28 June 1953.
- ³⁶ To Vima, 30 June 1953.
- ³⁷ Antonopoulos, Elias, Albania kai Hellinoalbanikes Schesses 1912-1994 (Albania and Greek-Albanian Relations 1912-1994), Athens: Okeanida, 1995, p.29.
- ³⁸ Linardos, Petros, "He Proti Mera ton Balkanikon Agonon (The First Day of the Balkan Games)", To Vima, 24, 25 July 1954, pp. 5, 8.
- ³⁹ Kranias, Nikos, "He Dekatitetarti Balkaniada (The Fourteenth Balkaniad)", Athletika Nea (Athletic News), 16 August 1955, p. 1.
- ⁴⁰ Kranias, Nikos, "Krissis kai Symperasmata apo tous Balkanikous tes Constantinoupolis (Considerations about the Balkan Games in Constantinople)", Athletika Nea (Athletic News), 29 August 1955, p.3.
- ⁴¹ Kofos, Evangelos, "The Macedonian Question from the Second World War to the Present Day", in Koliopoulos, Ioannis and Hassiotis, Ioannis (eds), Macedonia: History-Economy-Society-Culture, op. cit., p. 278.
- ⁴² Athletika Nea (Athletic News), 16 July 1956.
- ⁴³ Chiotes, Christos, "Elexe he Dekatipempti Balkaniada (The Fifteenth Balkaniad Closed)", Athletika Nea (Athletic News), 23 July 1958, pp. 1, 4.
- ⁴⁴ Kampanes, Nikos, "Oi Balkanikoi Agones Stivou tou 1957 sten Athina (The 1957 Balkan Games in Athens)", Athletika Nea (Athletic News), 2 September 1957, pp. 1, 3.

⁴⁵ "Gynekies Balkaniades (The Women's Balkan Games)", in Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association(ed), Peninta Chronia Balkanikon Agonon (Fifty Years of Balkan Games), op. cit., pp. 92-93.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 92-93.

⁴⁷ Koulouri, Christina, "Athletismos kai Sport (Athleticism and Sport)", in Chatzilosif, Christos (ed), Istoria tes Hellados tou 20ou Aiona: Oi Aparhes 1900-1922 (History of Greece of the Twentieth Century: the Beginning 1900-1922), vol. 1, part 2, Athens: Bibliorama, 2003, pp. 412-413.

⁴⁸ Eleftheron Vima, 27 October 1932.

⁴⁹ Hackman, C., "Influential Factors in the Development of Sport for Woman", Physical Education Review, vol. 1, 1978, p. 39.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 40-41.

⁵¹ Apostolopoulou, Natalia, Perifanes kai Adoulotes (Proud and Unconquered), Athens: 'Entos', 1997, pp. 10- 15.

⁵² Ibid., p. 20.

⁵³ Pfister, Gertrud, "Cold War Diplomats in Tracksuits: The Frauleinwunder of East German Sport", in J.A.Mangan (ed), Militarism, Sport, Europe. War without Weapons, The European Sports History Review, vol. 5, London, Portland: Frank Cass, 2003, p. 241.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 244. Since being capable of the highest achievement in sport requires eight or nine years of intensive training, the girls, who had already been selected at pre-school age, had to begin training in precise sports at the age of six. By contrast, opposition to 'children's competitive sport' was growing in Western countries.

⁵⁵ Riordan, James, "The Impact of Communism on Sport", in Riordan, James and Kruger, Arnd (eds), The International Politics of Sport in the Twentieth Century, London: E & FN Spon, 1999, p.55. Although an increasing number of women have been involved in sport, discrimination is evident from the fact that they are underrepresented in important areas of sport. The unequal treatment of women in sport is not only evident from the fact that women continue to be excluded from most positions of power and influence in both the educational and amateur sports system, but also from the fact that the opportunities for skilled women athletes to pursue career in professional sport are restricted. See Kidd, B., "The Men's Cultural Centre: Sports and the Dynamic of Women's Oppression/Men's Oppression", in Messner, M.A. and Sabo, D. F. (eds), Sport, Men and the Gender Order: Critical Feminist Perspectives, Champaign, Illinois: Human Kinetics, 1990, p. 36.

⁵⁶ Ta Nea (The News), 19 September 1958; Ta Nea (The News), 22 September 1958.

⁵⁷ Riordan, James, "The Impact of Communism on Sport", in Riordan, James and Kruger, Amd (eds), The International Politics of Sport in the Twentieth Century, op. cit., p. 57.

⁵⁸ Girginov, Vassil, "Fitness 'Wars': Purpose and Politics in Communist State-Building", in J. A. Mangan (ed), *Militarism, Sport, Europe. War without Weapons*, The European Sports History Review, op. cit., p. 263. Inasmuch as it had been decided that the pursuit of fitness was a state matter, members and various groups of the communist states were urged to participate in and contribute to this effort. The first party decision of 1949 introduced the concept of 'command competition', which urged all political committees, public, trade and voluntary organizations to take part in national competitions. Successful collective efforts were rewarded and fitness reports became more important for party leaders and sports representatives than personal satisfaction derived from participating. Between the years 1958 and 1989 the strategy for sport adopted by the Bulgarian Union for Physical Culture and Sport (BSFS) was based on the concept of Spartakiad-a four-year cycle of formal competition, embracing all sporting events at national and regional level. This system of competition involved state agencies, public organizations and groups. Although fitness was not encouraged as a personal pursuit but the group interest was systematically politically distorted, thousands of young were given the opportunity to learn new skills. See Girginov, Vassil, "Fitness 'Wars': Purpose and Politics in Communist State-Building", in J. A. Mangan (ed), *Militarism, Sport, Europe. War without Weapons*, The European Sports History Review, op. cit., p. 277.

⁵⁹ Svolopoulos, Christos, "Archize sto Boukourestli he Dekatiogdoe Balkaniada (The Eighteenth Balkan Games Opens in Bucharest)", Ta Nea (The News), 19 September 1959, p. 7.

⁶⁰ Ta Nea (The News), 19 September 1959.

⁶¹ Hassiotis, Ioannis, "Hellenic Macedonia since Liberation: General Observations and Principal Phases", in Koliopoulos, Ioannis and Hassiotis, Ioannis (eds), Macedonia: History-Economy-Society-Culture, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

⁶² Svolopoulos, Christos, "He Hellas Triti stous Balkanikous (Greece Achieved the Third Place)", Ta Nea (The News), 22 September 1959, p. 7.

⁶³ Natan, Alex, "Sport and Politics", in Loy, W. John and Kenyon, S. Gerald (eds), Sport, Culture and Society. A Reader of the Sociology of Sport, London: The Macmillan Company, 1969, p. 208.

⁶⁴ Ta Nea (The News), 23 September 1960; Ta Nea (The News), 26 September 1960.

⁶⁵ Ta Nea (The News), 19 September 1960.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ta Nea (The News), 29 September 1960; Ta Nea (The News), 5 October 1960; Ta Nea (The News), 7 October 1960.

⁶⁸ J. A. Mangan, "Prologue: Combative Sports and Combative Societies", in J.A.Mangan (ed), *Militarism, Sport, Europe. War without Weapons*, The European Sports History Review, op. cit., p. 1.

⁶⁹ Svolopoulos, Christos, "Balkanikoi Agones 1961 (The 1961 Balkan Games)", To Vima, 15,17 September 1961, p.5.

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- ⁷⁰ Antonopoulos, Elias, Albania kai Hellinoalbanikes Schesses 1912-1994 (Albania and Greek-Albanian Relations 1912-1994), op. cit., p. 30.
- ⁷¹ Svolopoulos, Christos, "Balkanikoi Agones 1961 (The 1961 Balkan Games)", To Vima, 15, 17 September 1961, p.5.
- ⁷² Riordan, James, "The Impact of Communism on Sport", in Riordan, James and Kruger, Arnd (eds), The International Politics of Sport in the Twentieth Century, op. cit., p. 62.
- ⁷³ Svolopoulos, Christos, "Balkanikoi Agones 1961 (The 1961 Balkan Games)", To Vima, 15, 17 September 1961, pp. 5, 11.
- ⁷⁴ Linardos, Petros, "Oi Balkanikoi sten Agyra (The Balkan Games in Ankara)", To Vima, 29 September 1962, p. 7; Linardos, Petros, "Oi Balkanikoi sten Agyra (The Balkan Games in Ankara)", To Vima, 2 October 1962, p. 7.
- ⁷⁵ Beck, J. Peter, "The Most Effective Means of Communication in the Modern World?: British Sport and National Prestige", in Levermore, Roger (ed), Sport and International Relations: An Emerging Relationship, London; Frank Cass, 2003, pp. 84-85.
- ⁷⁶ Riordan, James, "The Impact of Communism on Sport", in Riordan, James and Kruger, Arnd (eds), The International Politics of Sport in the Twentieth Century, op. cit., pp. 62-63.
- ⁷⁷ To Vima, 14 September 1963.
- ⁷⁸ Ibid.
- ⁷⁹ Avgi, 11, 15 September 1964.
- ⁸⁰ Avgi, 9 September 1965. In the meantime, the Balkan Wrestling Championship, involving Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania and Turkey, took place in Bulgaria.
- ⁸¹ Avgi, 9 September 1965.
- ⁸² Avgi, 14 September 1965.
- ⁸³ Riordan, James, "The Impact of Communism on Sport", in Riordan, James and Kruger, Arnd (eds), The International Politics of Sport in the Twentieth Century, op. cit., p. 56.
- ⁸⁴ Thessaloniki, 15 September 1966.
- ⁸⁵ Thessaloniki, 15 September 1966; Thessaloniki, 19 September 1966. The 1967 meeting, with five countries involved, took place in Constantinople. See Thessaloniki, 29 September 1967.
- ⁸⁶ To Vima, 5 September 1968. In the same year, Albania withdrew from the Warsaw Pact, broke off diplomatic and economic relations with its Balkan neighbours and established political and trade bonds with Peking while retaining trade exchanges with Italy, France and West Germany. After Mao's death (1976), however, diplomatic

relations and economic cooperation between Tirana and Peking discontinued (in 1978) due to the rapprochement between China and the United States of America. See Antonopoulos, Elias, Albania kai Hellinoalbanikes Schesses 1912-1994 (Albania and Greek-Albanian Relations 1912-1994), op. cit., pp. 30-31.

⁸⁷ To Vima, 5, 8 September 1968.

⁸⁸ To Vima, 5 September 1968.

⁸⁹ To Vima, 5 September 1968; To Vima, 8 September 1968.

⁹⁰ Riordan, James, "Politics of Elite Sport in East and West", in Redmond, G., (ed), The 1984 Olympic Scientific Congress Proceedings, Champaign, Illinois: Human Kinetics Publishers, vol. 7, 1986, pp. 35-42.

⁹¹ Hellinikos Voras (The Greek North), 28 August 1969; Hellinikos Voras (The Greek North), 2 September 1969. President John Kennedy, in the early 1960s, began his electoral campaign by congratulating national teams and athletes, who had won first place at international meetings. The British Prime Minister Harold Wilson, General Vieda of Argentina and President Pertini of Italy, among many others, have all been keen to link their name with their country's success in Soccer's World Cup for political ends. See Allison, Lincoln, "Sport and Politics", in Allison, Lincoln (ed), The Politics of Sport, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986, pp. 13-14.

⁹² Macedonia, 14 August 1970.

⁹³ Macedonia, 13 August 1970. Again it should be noted here that nationalism in sport, frequently, prevents it from improving trans-national relations. Furthermore, if there are serious national differences between the competing states then sport may harm relations rather than improve them. See Sudgen, J., "As Presently Constituted, Sport at an International Level Does More Harm than Good", in Cohen, G. (ed), Peace and Understanding through Sport-A Monograph, Institute for International Sport, vol. 2, no 1, Winter 1989, pp. 63-68.

⁹⁴ Macedonia, 3 September 1971; Macedonia, 5 September 1971.

⁹⁵ To Vima, 4 August 1972.

⁹⁶ To Vima, 4, 6 August 1972. In the same year, there was an increase in the number of the contests with the inauguration of rowing competitions.

⁹⁷ Vakalopoulos, Apostolos, Nea Helliniki Historia 1204-1985 (Modern Greek History 1204-1985), op. cit., pp. 454-461.

⁹⁸ Hellas: He Historia kai o Politismos tou Hellinikou Ethnous apo tis Aparches mechri Simera (Hellas: History and Culture of the Greek Nation from the Beginning until the Present Day), Athens: Papyros, 1998, p. 648; "Oi Triakostoi Defteroi Balkanikoi Agones (The Thirtieth Second Balkan Games)", S.E.G.A.S., no 58/162, July-August 1973, Athens: Eptalophos, 1973, pp. 1-4 ('S.E.G.A.S.' is still the monthly official bulletin of the Hellenic Amateur Sports Association). Gaston Meyer, from the newspaper *Equipe*, praised the Organising Committee for its superb hospitality and the success of the meeting while Professor G. Wieczisk, Rresident of the Sports Association of Eastern

Germany and representative of the I.A.A.F., complimented the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association on their efforts to preserve cultural traditions in general and to support the Games in particular. It is an appropriate moment to review sport in Greece in the years leading up to long-desired improvements in the Balkan Games. The politically turbulent years from 1950 until 1973 and great financial difficulties had held back the evolution of modern sport in Greece. In the 1950s, in an effort to promote sport, which had had a speedy growth in Europe, both the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association and the Hellenic Olympic Committee attempted to give a boost to sport subsidizing competitions at national level, but they were not successful. See "Oi Triakostoi Defteroi Balkanikoi Agones (The Thirtieth Second Balkan Games)", S.E.G.A.S., no 58/162, July-August 1973, op. cit., p. 2. Prior to the Olympic Games in Melbourne in 1956, the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association had proposed the creation of sporting centres for the preparation of athletes for international meetings, the stage of a Pan-Hellenic Inter-Club Championship, the improvement of the gyms' facilities and the establishment of rewards. The disappointing Greek performances in the 1960 and 1964 Olympic Games rekindled discussions on the ineffectiveness of past efforts. Furthermore, the Greek government did not implement a unified policy in sport in the 1960s although the General Secretariat of Sport had been founded in 1958 to support and promote modern sport. Poor state subsidies and little government support had their negative impact. See "Oi Triakostoi Defteroi Balkanikoi Agones (The Thirtieth Second Balkan Games)", S.E.G.A.S., no 58/162, July-August 1973, op. cit., p. 2. Newspapers of the time reported that sport was passing through a crisis and suggested that the National Athletic Associations should be reconstructed in an effort to promote to sports movement. See Eleftheria, 10 December 1964. In the meantime, G. Mylonas, the Deputy Minister of the Presidency of the G. Papandreou government, had already taken measures for the promotion of physical education in the form of sport in public school.

⁹⁹ "Oi Triakostoi Defteroi Balkanikoi Agones (The Thirtieth Second Balkan Games)", S.E.G.A.S., no 58/162, July-August 1973, op. cit., pp. 1-6; Thessaloniki, 3 August 1974.

¹⁰⁰ Vakalopoulos, Apostolos, Nea Helliniki Historia 1204-1985 (Modern Greek History 1204-1985), op. cit., p. 460.

¹⁰¹ Thessaloniki, 3 August 1974. Following the impact of the Czechoslovakian crisis and the declaration of the Brezhnev doctrine, particularly after 1974, the ice between states of the two blocs-East and West-began melting a little as they agreed to sign the Helsinki Final Act of 1975. In this climate, fresh bilateral talks between Sofia and Belgrade took place from 1975 until 1977 on a permanent settlement of the dispute over the Macedonian question that had brought friction and tension in relations between the two sides many times in the past. President Tito of Yugoslavia and President Zhivkov of Bulgaria had an unofficial meeting in Helsinki in 1975 at which they decided to set up a special commission that would attempt to smooth over the disputes. See Kofos, Evangelos, "The Macedonian Question from the Second World War to the Present Day", in Koliopoulos, Ioannis and Hassiotis, Ioannis (eds), Macedonia: History-Economy-Society-Culture, op. cit., p. 278.

¹⁰² Thessaloniki, 11 August 1975.

¹⁰³ Thessaloniki, 8, 11 August 1975.

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- ¹⁰⁴ Acropolis, 18 June 1976.
- ¹⁰⁵ Coacley, Jay, Sport in Society. Issues and Controversies, fifth edition, St. Louis, Missouri: Mosby, 1994, p. 367.
- ¹⁰⁶ Acropolis, 18, 22 June 1976.
- ¹⁰⁷ Acropolis, 18 June 1976.
- ¹⁰⁸ Kathimerini, 10 August 1977.
- ¹⁰⁹ Acropolis, 13 September 1977.
- ¹¹⁰ Kathimerini, 14 August 1978. Thessaloniki played host to the meeting, despite the fact that the city had suffered a tremendous earthquake two months earlier. Fortunately, the damage caused was comparatively small. Ministers, high-ranking officers and sports representatives from every corner of the Balkans met at the stadium.
- ¹¹¹ Hassiotis, Ioannis, "Hellenic Macedonia since Liberation: General Observations and Principal Phases", in in Koliopoulos, Ioannis and Hassiotis, Ioannis (eds), Macedonia: History-Economy-Society-Culture, op. cit., pp. 17-18.
- ¹¹² Alevropoulos, Christos, "Scholia gia tous Balkanikous (Comments about the Balkan Games)", Thessaloniki, 14 August 1978, p. 10.
- ¹¹³ Kathimerini, 17 August 1978.
- ¹¹⁴ Macedonia, 5 August 1979. Marin Dragnea, the Rumanian Minister of Physical Education and Sport, Yuksel Cakmur, the Turkish Minister of Sport, Trendafil Martinski, the Bulgarian Minister of Physical Education and Sport, Trpe Jakovlevski, the Yugoslav Minister of Sport and Stojan Matkaligev, the Yugoslav Minister of Industry and Energy were all invited to Athens.
- ¹¹⁵ Personalities of the world of sport from the Balkans and Europe came to Athens to add splendour to the celebration. Adrian Paulen, President of the International Sports Association (I.A.A.F.), Arthur Gold, President of the European Athletic Association, Leonid Comenkov, President of the Athletic Association of the Soviet Union, Primo Nebiolo, President of the Italian Sports Association, Frederic Holder and Arthur Takac, member and general secretary of I.A.A.F. respectively. In addition, Marea Hartman, President of the women committee of I.A.A.F., Professor Manfred Hepener, member of the Sports Medical Committee of the People's Republic of Germany, Erich Pitlar, President of the Australian Sports Association, Al. Gee, General Secretary of the Irish Sports Association, Juliano Tozi, member of the International Association of Walking and others were official guests. See Kathimerini, 2 August 1979.
- ¹¹⁶ Thessaloniki, 8 August 1979.
- ¹¹⁷ Macedonia, 10 August 1979.
- ¹¹⁸ Vradini, 11 August 1979. Before the opening of the session, Beliskovic from Yugoslavia, General Secretary of the Organising Committee of the Games, Adrian

Paulen from Holland, President of the International Sport Association, Arthur Gould from Britain, President of the European Sports Association and Primo Nebiolo, President of the Italian Sports Association laid wreaths at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

¹¹⁹ Paulen, Adrian, "The Balkan Games", in Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association(ed), Peninta Chronia Balkanikon Agonon (Fifty Years of Balkan Games), op. cit., p. 6.

¹²⁰ Martinski, Trendafil, "The Contribution of the Balkan Games to Friendship and Peace in the Balkan Peninsula", in Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association(ed), Peninta Chronia Balkanikon Agonon (Fifty Years of Balkan Games), op. cit., p. 8.

¹²¹ Jakovlevski, Tpe, "The Inspirational Founders of the Balkan Games", in Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association(ed), Peninta Chronia Balkanikon Agonon (Fifty Years of Balkan Games), op. cit., p. 10.

¹²² Dragnea, Marin, "Balkan Games. An Example of Friendship", In Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association(ed), Peninta Chronia Balkanikon Agonon (Fifty Years of Balkan Games), op. cit., p. 13.

¹²³ Cakmur also repeated what Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, President of the Turkish Republic, had said to the Balkan representatives at the Second Balkan Conference in Constantinople in 1931. Kemal, speaking of the prospects of establishing a Balkan Confederation, pointed out that whether unity in the Balkans was accomplished by means of mutual respect, political cooperation and collaboration in the areas of economy, culture and education, it was not to be doubted that rapprochement and conciliation between the Balkan nations would be recognised by the civilized world as a meritorious, stimulating achievement. See Cakmur, Yuksel, "The Balkan Games will Pave the Way for our Peoples", in Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association(ed), Peninta Chronia Balkanikon Agonon (Fifty Years of Balkan Games), op. cit., p. 14; Kathimerini, 11 August 1979; Thessaloniki, 11 August 1979. The participants in the 1979 sports session was also addressed by Todorov, President of the Bulgarian Athletic Association, Melac, President of the Yugoslav Sporting Association, Lia Manoliou, Vice-President of the Rumanian Sports Association, and George Marcelos, President of the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association.

¹²⁴ Kathimerini, 15 August 1979. At an impressive closing ceremony, George Markelos from the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association expressed his profound thanks to the Balkan ministers of sport for their contribution to the celebration's success and wished the Games, unaffected by the national problems, would continue linking the nations of the Balkan nations. See Eleftherotypia, 15 August 1979; Papachristos, Christos, "Telete Lexes ton Agonon (The Closing Ceremony of the Games)", Vradini, 14 August 1979, p. 7. The 'Lefski' Stadium in Sofia hosted the Games in 1980 with the standard five countries involved. The Yugoslav athletes were the Bulgarians' match in many contests and both the Yugoslavs and Bulgarians doggedly contested first place. Regarding the growth of modern sport in Greece and the associated role of the Games from 1980 onwards, many promising athletes emerged from the Games and a new era for Greek sport was eagerly expected. See Stamatopoulou, Dimitrios, "Symperasmata gia tous Balkanikous tes Sofias (Conclusions about the Game in Sofia)", Thessaloniki, 17 June 1980, p. 11. Sarajevo, Bucharest, Smyrna, Athens and other Balkan cities staged the Games in turn throughout the 1980s while in 1982 Bucharest saw the third Albanian participation. Albania now sought to establish relations with the neighbours.

Albania's involvement became more frequent in the early 1980s and became consistently involved from 1984 onwards. Regrettably, in the early 1980s the elite of the Bulgarian athletes preferred the European and International meetings to the Balkan Games hoping to earn greater prestige in international sports circles and to gain a global reputation. Bulgaria prioritized other events over the Balkan Games. This disdainful attitude towards the regional athletic event created a bad impression in the Balkan world of sport and justifiably caused negative comments. See Moutsias, Christos, "He Tessarakosti Balkaniada (The Fourtieth Balkaniad)", Ta Nea, 19 September 1981, p. 15; Ta Nea, 13 August 1982; Constantopoulos, N.A., "He Balkaniada tes Smyrnes (The Balkan Games of Smyrna)", Ta Nea, 24 June 1983, p. 8. In an effort to strengthen political and cultural links between the Balkan nations even further, for the first time in the postwar Games, both the opening and closing ceremonies of the 1984 Games held in Greece included various cultural events under the symbolic title 'for the peaceful co-existence of peoples; for sport and culture.' With six Balkan states involved, the Athens Olympic Stadium hosted the athletic events while the closing ceremony was held at the Panathinaikon Stadium, which resounded with the melody of a musical composition titled 'Spiritual March'. It was inspired by a synthesis of extracts written by the Greek poet Angelos Sikelianos and was composed by the renowned composer Mikis Theodorakis. Sport and culture combined in the service of peace, harmony and collaboration. See Kathimerini, 7, 11 September 1984. 1984 also saw the fourth Albanian participation. From this year onwards Albania was unfailingly involved, with an increasing number of assertive athletes who endeavoured to represent their country successfully, at least, at regional level. In the meantime, Greco-Albanian relations were increasingly improved and trade, cultural and educational exchanges were initiated after a long period of hostility between Greece and Albania and Albanian isolation. See Hassiotis, Ioannis, "Hellenic Macedonia since Liberation: General Observations and Principal Phases", in Koliopoulos, Ioannis and Hassiotis, Ioannis (eds), Macedonia: History-Economy-Society-Culture, op. cit., p. 18.

¹²⁵ Giannakis, Thomas, "Balkanikoi Agones: 1929-1999 (Balkan Games: 1929-1999)", Athlese kai Koinonia (Exercise & Society), no. 23, 1999, p. 43.

¹²⁶ To Vima, 4 August 1990; Eleftherotypia, 7 July 1994; Kathimerini, 27 June 1997; Kathimerini, 29 June 1997; To Vima, 26 June 1999.

¹²⁷ Tziovas, Dimitris, "Introduction", in Tziovas, Dimitris (ed), Greece and the Balkans: Identities, Perceptions and Cultural Encounters since the Enlightenment, Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003, p. 2.

¹²⁸ Zachariades, George, "Rhodos: Diaskepses Balkanikou Athletismou (Rhodes: Conference on Balkan Sport)", Ta Nea, 16 January 1999, p. 21.

¹²⁹ Rodiaki, 17 January 1999.

¹³⁰ Mazower, Mark, The Balkans, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2000, p.239.

¹³¹ Rodiaki, 17 January 1999.

¹³² Rodiaki, 17 January 1999.

¹³³ Ta Nea, 18 January 1999.

¹³⁴ Zachariades, George, "Rhodos: Diaskepses Balkanikou Athletismou (Rhodes: Conference on Balkan Sport)", Ta Nea, 16 January 1999, p. 22.

¹³⁵ Rodiaki, 18 January 1999.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Rodiaki, 18 January 1999.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Rodiaki, 18 January 1999.

¹⁴⁰ Mazower, Mark, The Balkans, op. cit., p. 251.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Summarising the events: Greece and the Balkan Games-Past contribution and future challenge

Prior to the period under review, despite the cultural ties that have linked the Balkan nations, inter-Balkan relations were often hostile. Following the establishment of the modern Greek state in 1830, Serbian autonomy was achieved two years later, Rumania was unified in 1861 and the Bulgarian state was founded in 1878. However, the Balkan peoples' gradually successful struggle against the Turks turned to internecine antagonism. Then, in the twentieth century, the region was also troubled by the triple Greek-Bulgarian-Yugoslav rivalry over the domination of Macedonia, the Greek-Bulgarian friction over Greek Macedonia and Thrace and the Greek-Albanian disagreement on Northern Epirus.¹ Nevertheless, trans-Balkan cooperation was seen in the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913. In less than two months, the allied forces of Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs and Montenegrins achieved the recovery of territories, which had been under Ottoman occupation for five centuries. As far as Albania is concerned, although the Albanians had sided with the enemy, they too embraced the opportunity, after Austrian and Italian intervention, to secure their independence. More importantly, however, it was during the first Balkan War that serious friction between the Balkan states arose.

Bulgaria's failure to acquire the territory that had been granted it by Russia in 1878 in accordance with the treaty of San Stefano resulted into a new bitter conflict between Bulgaria and its former allies. Greece gained Eastern Macedonia, Yugoslavia acquired parts of Northern Macedonia and Rumania took Southern Dobrudja. The Serbian advance into Kossovo nipped the Albanian domination here in the bud. Then Austria and Italy forced Greece to hand Northern Epirus over to the new Albanian state. This fact poisoned Greek-Albanian relations for decades. The acquisition of Kossovo by the Serbs initiated a longstanding Albanian-Serbian dispute, which sparked off open internal ethnic strife in Yugoslavia and developed into a complex 'minority' issue in the region.² In the interwar years, the Balkan countries made meritorious efforts to reduce regional strife. The wounds left by the Great War had to be healed and crucial national and economic differences awaited settlement. For this reason, the Balkan governments attempted to reach political agreements on tendentious issues.

The effort at rapprochement was also furthered by the Balkan Conferences, which first were held in Athens in 1930, and subsequently were held, in turn, in Constantinople in 1931, in Bucharest in 1932 and finally in Thessaloniki in 1933. Despite good intentions, the Conferences failed to produce the anticipated results in the political domain essentially as a result of Bulgarian intransigence. Bulgaria was not amenable to agreements unless minority issues were settled. Nevertheless, the draft of the Balkan Pact was agreed between Greece, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Turkey and this was regarded as the most positive outcome of the Conferences. The Pact was signed in 1934, but as discussed earlier, it failed to ensure unity among the contracting states and proved especially ineffectual when the Second World War broke out. The rise of Nazi Germany in the 1930s reactivated the territorial claims of the prewar period and provoked further inter-Balkan strife, foreign intervention and the eventual overturning of the Versailles Treaty. As a result, Italy occupied Albania in March 1939,

Rumanian Bukovina and Bessarabia were annexed by the Soviet Union in June 1940, Hungary occupied part of Rumanian Transylvania in August 1940 and in November 1940 Greece re-occupied Northern Epirus in Southern Albania. The territorial redistribution continued after the German forces had marched into the Balkans in the spring of 1941 and further changes to the political map of Southeastern Europe took place.³

The interwar period, on which this study has focused, was a period of national friction, domestic political turmoil and economic difficulties in the Balkans. Moreover, relations between the Balkan nations were embittered by painful memories of the past. In these adverse circumstances, the development and promotion of sport appeared beyond the priorities and financial capabilities of the Balkan governments and justifiably might have been out of their concerns. The idea of the foundation of the Balkan Games resulted from the speedy growth of European sport and the unsatisfactory performances of Balkan athletes at national and international level. More significantly, the new athletic event was considered an outcome of the desire to bring together the Balkan nations in non-violent contact. Discussions of the establishment of the Balkan Games were first held in Paris in 1924 following a Greek initiative and resumed in Amsterdam in 1928 where a Balkan consensus for the idea was achieved. The magnitude of this Greek achievement should be stressed. It was accomplished despite national differences, power-struggles, confrontations and clashes. More to the point, to achieve Balkan consensus for any idea concerning regional cooperation in a period of tense transnational relations in the area was an achievement of rare accomplishment. The agreement clearly revealed the extent of the desire for rapprochement after what appeared to have been an interminable period of dissention and argument.

Greece played a key role in the foundation and promotion of the Games. It was the first to propose them and supported them financially in the face of serious economic difficulties and considerable reservation and pessimism on the part of other Balkan sports representatives. Venizelos' visionary position on sport and the significance of its role in transnational relationships is clear from what he said at the opening ceremony of the First Balkan Conference in Athens in 1930. The Greek premier pointed out that:

...Everybody recognises the difficulties in bringing the Balkan nations together in a Balkan Union. Such a Union can be achieved in stages only. For this reason, each nation should try to initiate the effort at rapprochement, locating first points on which agreement is easily attained. The creation of a friendly atmosphere can prepare the ground and produce the required conditions for the settlement of complicated and crucial political issues.⁴

In the final analysis, the establishment of good relations among the Balkan nations through sport was an initiative for which general consent could be easily obtained. Sport thus became the means through which the peoples of the region came into contact for the first time in the interwar period and raised hopes for collaboration in various other fields including the political. And indeed, as has been shown earlier, the Games had some success in helping to realise this ambition.

However, the response to the proposal for the Games' establishment was a mixture of enthusiasm and circumspection. Enthusiasm came initially from the belief that the new institution would promote Balkan sport, which at the time was considerably inferior to European sport in general. Circumspection resulted from an understanding of the huge expenses an international athletic meeting would involve. Reservations were finally overcome following the Greek action in staging the trial 'Balkaniad' in Athens in 1929. The prewar Games were organised with the purpose of bringing the countries together and not with the purpose of promoting any one nation in the international or regional community. They were officially inaugurated in 1930 and flourished until the

end of the 1930s and the tragedy of the Second World War. Eleftherios Venizelos, a charismatic and visionary Greek politician, gave his blessing to the new athletic event during his third premiership (1928-1932) seeing it as a means of improving inter-Balkan relations and as a source of conciliation and cooperation in the area. The Games steadily built up momentum for a decade. The fact that the Games brought athletes, delegates, journalists, government representatives and diplomats at least part of the time from six warring countries together for years in an amicable atmosphere provided the Balkan nations with the opportunity to establish sporting, cultural and political links in a serious effort to find an alternative form of constructive confrontation to the destructive form of war. The Games represented the triumph of hope and experience. They did not fail in this regard. They were not a political cure-all but neither were they a political failure.

The Balkan Games also included sports sessions, cultural events and official meetings between sports and diplomatic representatives. All these initiatives were taken to establish initial contact in order to pave gradually the way for constructive conciliation on controversial national and economic questions. From their official inauguration in 1930 and throughout the 1930s, politicians and diplomats from the competing states saw the Games as the starting point for a variety of exchanges through which the nations might be brought together in greater understanding and cooperation. Sports meetings that are politically well intentioned can help communication and cooperation between nations. The common reality, of course, is that when an athletic meeting is staged, political friendship seldom receives priority. The demonstration of national superiority through sport mostly characterises the competing parties.⁵ Nevertheless, in the 1930s the Balkan Games did provide a rare example of how an athletic event was used to promote ameliorate relations between antagonistic nations.

The Games were actually held in an amicable atmosphere and did help minimise tension between the participating states. The athletes were encouraged to perform with an emphasis on individual participation. Spectators, sports representatives and journalists focused on the achievements of the athletes as personal and not national successes and on the symbols emphasising conciliation, friendship and trust. Time and again, statesmen such as Eleftherios Venizelos, the Greek Premier, as well as Bulgarian, Rumanian, Yugoslav and Turkish politicians and diplomats declared publicly, that the greatest service the Games rendered to peace in the region was that they brought athletes, diplomats, and government representatives together to seek and advance channels of communication, conciliation and collaboration.⁶ The mere fact that sport was capable of bringing together the Balkan peoples in an atmosphere of amicability was an achievement in itself. In addition, the Games increasingly became a means of cultural exchanges and a stimulus to the improvement of regional performances by means of which the Balkan nations raised their self-esteem.

After a thirteen-year interruption the Games resumed officially in 1953 and again became a regular annual event in the Balkans, although the Macedonian question resurfaced after the Second World War and had a negative impact on relations between Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.⁷ The attempts to revive the Games in some form or other despite the resurgence of nationalism in the Balkans in the second half of the twentieth century bear testimony to a surviving belief in the value of the Games as a means of contact and collaboration. A high value was set by the Balkan world of sport on the political role of the Games as a means of rapprochement. In the late twentieth century, however, despite some earlier encouraging moves towards cooperation, harmony and peace, sadly trans-Balkan relationships were again overshadowed by ethnic conflicts. To what extent can sport be the source of a

successful and long-lasting collaboration between the Balkan nations in the twenty-first century? It is a question that cannot be answered with any certainty. The establishment and improvement of relations through sport is a strategy that is at present still well received. That sport is recognised as a possible source of unity and is utilised constructively for political ends is to be applauded. But at the same time its limitations in this region, as history has amply demonstrated, must be bluntly acknowledged. Nevertheless, good intentions are laudable. Sport is certainly not without value; it can have some success but it is not an indisputable panacea for political, cultural and ethnic antagonisms, jealousies and suspicions. It can only alleviate them. However, for this reason alone, surely it deserves support! The end of the Cold War has provided the Balkans with the possibility of being involved in the European Union, NATO and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The Balkans are also geopolitical transformed inasmuch as they are now in the middle of a broad market, which includes the Black Sea, the former Soviet Union and Central Asia thus providing many opportunities for business activities and cultural and political collaboration between nations.⁸

Sport may well serve again in a political role to advance peace and prosperity. In the prewar period, sport was utilised in the Balkans as instrument of cooperative diplomacy, but it is difficult to measure precisely how effective it was. Unquestionably, sport can create emotional unity. It can bring people together to cheer for the same athletes despite differences in social class, ethnicity, religion, education and cultural background. But in all honesty such unity seldom affects the settlement of serious questions touching on national disagreements. Nevertheless, the Balkan Games re-emerged from the ruins of the Second World War and despite fresh national differences between the Balkan states, they survived political disagreements and became an important annual athletic event creating channels of communication among

suspicious nations. They survived controversies and tensions, adverse circumstances and national conflicts in the region for a good part of the twentieth century. There were beneficial consequences arising from the Games: goodwill and cooperation. The Balkan Games were an attempted peaceful alternative to diplomatic and political 'war' and were perhaps most ambitious, yet meritorious in this ambition and, to a degree, successful. By way of illustration, long before the raising of the 'state of war' in 1987, which was proclaimed by Greece between Albania and Greece in 1940 and the first trade and political agreements in the 1970s and 1980s, the Games achieved, to some extent, to break the ice between the two sides. Despite national differences and friction between Albania, Greece and Yugoslavia in the second half of the twentieth century, Albania participated in the postwar Balkan Games in 1963, 1978 and 1982 and was consistently involved from 1984 onwards. In the final analysis, whatever the weakness of the human species, its propensity for violence, its capacity for endless confrontation, some alternatives must always be sought and attempted.

The Balkan Games stand as an example of one relatively unknown attempt. They serve as an example of how painful memories can be set aside and can give way to understanding and friendship. Tragically the twenty-first century has found parts of the Balkans plunged into vicious political turmoil. At the same time in other parts of the Balkans there is the promise of affluence and tranquillity. In the new harsh and complex political conditions, which have developed in the Balkans since the 1990s, to what extent is sport capable of positively affecting the course of wider events in the Balkan Peninsula? This remains to be seen. However, the Balkan Games survive; they bring regional nations together; they may continue to have a beneficial influence!

Footnotes

¹ Hassiotis, Ioannis, "Greece and Inter-Balkan Relations: History and Contemporary Implications", *Thetis*, vol. 2, 1995, pp. 160-161.

² Ibid., p. 161.

³ Hassiotis, Ioannis, "Greece and Inter-Balkan Relations: History and Contemporary Implications", *Thetis*, op. cit., p. 162. Germany incorporated Northern Slovenia guaranteeing the independence of its satellite Croatia. Hungary annexed Yugoslav Vojvodina. Italy took part of Slovenia, the Dalmatian coast and Kosovo on Albania's behalf. Moreover, in 1941 Bulgaria, which had joined forces with the Axis Powers, occupied Yugoslav Macedonia, a great part of Greek Macedonia and Western Thrace and Rumania's Southern Dobrudja. The collapse of the Axis Powers then turned the course of events upside down. Bulgaria was forced to withdraw from Greek and Yugoslav territories and to return to its previous border. Yugoslavia gained Italian Istria with the exception of Trieste. Italy withdrew from the Dodecanese that it had occupied in 1912, which were finally re-united with Greece in 1947. See Hassiotis, Ioannis, "Greece and Inter-Balkan Relations: History and Contemporary Implications", *Thetis*, op. cit., p. 162. After the Second World War and the establishment of the communist regimes in Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Albania, the nationalistic antagonism between them seemed to ease for a while. In 1945, an attempt was made on Yugoslav initiative to unite the states of Southeastern Europe in a Confederation. Greece was on bad terms with both Bulgaria and Albania, which had joined forces with the enemies during the Second World War and with Yugoslavia, which had openly supported the communist Greek Democratic Army during the Greek Civil War (1946-1949), which had followed the German occupation. The Greek distrust of the Yugoslavs was deepened by the creation of the 'Popular/Socialistic Republic of Macedonia' as an autonomous part of the Yugoslav Federation. Moreover, Bulgaria, which had agreed to recognize the new autonomous state and its 'Macedonian' nationhood in 1947, renounced its obligations as soon as Belgrade fell out with Moscow in 1948. Nevertheless, from the 1950s onwards, under the pressure exerted by the United States and Great Britain, which supported Tito's collaboration with Western Europe and after the Allies' assurances that there would be no 'Macedonian Question' in the future, Athens only demanded that Belgrade renounce claims on Greek territory under the pretext of the 'Macedonian' minority. Thus, a tripartite political agreement was agreed between Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey in 1954, which was never implemented due to the Greek-Turkish dissension from 1955 onwards. Nevertheless, trade and political cooperation was initiated between Greece and Yugoslavia with some temporary interruptions resulted from the Skopje's provocations. See Hassiotis, Ioannis, "Greece and Inter-Balkan Relations: History and Contemporary Implications", *Thetis*, op. cit., pp. 162-163. Stalin's death contributed to the thaw of the ice in Greek-Bulgarian relations. In the 1970s, rapprochement between Athens and Sofia was seen as necessary particularly after the pressure put by Turkey on Greece (concerning Cyprus, the East Aegean and the Moslem minority in Western Thrace) and on Bulgaria (regarding its Moslem minority). Greek-Bulgarian relations again became complicated after the collapse of the Zhivkov communist regime. The Bulgarian policy in Turkey began to vacillate on the one hand and on the other, political circles in Sofia and Blagoevgrad revived some of their irredentism dreams, which focused principally on what had been Yugoslav Macedonia. With regard to Greek-Albanian relations, they took longer to be restored due to serious national issues. Persecution of the Greek minority in Southern Albania in the interwar years and Greece's statement of claims on Northern Epirus at the Paris Peace Conference in 1946-1947 resulting from the Greek victorious advance

into Albania in 1940, rekindled Tirana's suspicion of Athens. Relations between the two states began shakily improving in the 1970s when trade exchanges were restored to some extent. Greco-Albanian political relations began improving from August 1987 when the 'state of war', which had been proclaimed by Greece in 1940, was finally raised. See Hassiotis, Ioannis, "Greece and Inter-Balkan Relations: History and Contemporary Implications", Thetis, op. cit., p. 163.

⁴ Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 6 October 1930.

⁵ Coakley, Jay, Sport in Society: Issues and Controversies, op. cit., pp. 377-378. It should be noted that sports representatives, who represent their country at international meetings, can and do act as diplomatic representatives, formal and informal, in the effort to improve relations between nations. See Holsti, K. J., International Politics: A Framework for Analysis, Sixth Edition, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1992, p. 25.

⁶ Official statements made by Greek politicians and Balkan diplomats about the political role of the Balkan Games in the area were published in: Ephimeres ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 24 September 1929; Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 22 September 1929; Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 5 October 1930; Ephimeres ton Balkanion (The Newspaper of the Balkans), 6 October 1930; Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 6 October 1930; "Les Jeux Panbalkaniques", in Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale (ed), Iere Conference Balkanique, Documents Officiels, op. cit., p. 404; Spanoudi, Mile, 'Les Premiers Jeux Balkaniques', Les Balkans, vol. I, no 2, November 1930, op. cit., p. 28; Les Jeux Panbalkaniques", in Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale (ed), Iere Conference Balkanique, Documents Officiels, op. cit., p. 405; Kodometros, Nikos, "Oi Protol Balkanikoi Agones (The First Balkan Games)", Tachydromos tes Voreiou Hellados (Northern Greece Messenger), 6 October 1930, p. 1; Eleftheron Vima, 5 October 1931; Eleftheron Vima, 6 October 1931; Eleftheron Vima, 10 October 1932; Macedonia, 10 October 1932; Eleftheron Vima, 12 October 1932.

⁷ Although Greece has many times publicly declared that there is no Macedonian question for it, it is, nevertheless, still involved in the question consequent upon the political manouvres of the Slavic side and particularly of F.Y.R.O.M. The effort made by Belgrade to counterbalance the antagonistic forces among various ethnicities within the former Yugoslavia, and the desire to realise, whenever possible, their nationalist goals, urged them to adopt policies, which provoked Greece's indignation and reaction. As far as Greek-Bulgarian relations are concerned, they were considerably improved after the end of the Second World War and finally passed from a state of hostility and intransigence into harmony and collaboration. From the 1970s onwards, and after what appeared to be an interminable period of disputes, the relationship between the two sides became trouble-free. See Kofos, Evagelos, "The Macedonian Question from the Second World War to the Present Day", in Kollopoulos, Ioannis and Hassiotis, Ioannis (eds), Macedonia: History-Economy-Society-Culture, op. cit., pp. 246-295.

⁸ Mazower, Mark, The Balkans, op. cit., p. 251.

APPENDIX I. THE BALKAN GAMES' FOUNDING PROTOCOL

'All these who have attended the Conference, after three successive meetings in which general consent to the matters discussed was obtained and in accordance with the representatives' resolution, by proxy of the National Sports Associations, the following Founding Protocol was agreed:

The following signatories:

- 1) Dumev and Katchef from the Bulgarian Sports Association**
- 2) Lucid from the Rumanian Sporting Association**
- 3) Dombrin from the Yugoslav Sporting Association and**
- 4) Michael Rinopoulos and George Kitsos from the Hellenic Amateur Athletic Association, having met at the Hall of the Olympic Games Committee under the presidency of M. Rinopoulos, agreed the following:**

- 1) The 'Pan-Balkan' Games, annual meetings held, in turn, at the capital of the competing states aim to bring together the sports enthusiasts of the Balkan states.**
- 2) The Games will take place on an annual basis. The first 'Pan-Balkan' Games will be inaugurated in 1930.**
- 3) In the event that a competing state, due to act of God, is not in a position to stage the 'Pan-Balkan' Games, it must notify the situation to the Sports Associations, at least, six months prior to the scheduled date of the following Games.**
- 4) Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Greece are engaged to be involved in the 'Pan-Balkan' Games with, at least, two athletes for each contest and two reserve athletes. Turkey and Albania can be involved with the same obligations and rights as the above states. They do not have the right, however, to host the Games in the next four years.**
- 5) The 'Pan-Balkan' Games include classical events, but, in the course of time, they can increasingly include various athletic events, with the proviso that a general consent has been obtained for it.**
- 6) Greece, taking account of the economic difficulties the Balkan Sports Associations face and, at their request, is engaged to stage the 'Pan-Balkan' Games for the following four years, but it is amenable to the cession of the Games' stage to any Balkan Association that will officially apply for it at the annual meeting of the sports representatives.**
- 7) A Statutes dealing with technical and administrative matters will be included in the Founding Protocol.**

- 8) Each of the National Sports Associations must be represented at the 'Pan-Balkan' Games with, at least, twenty athletes.

Athens, 27th September 1929

Signatures of the aforementioned representatives...'

Peninta Chronia Balkanikon Agonon (Fifty Years of Balkan Games), Athens: Cactos, 1979, p. 32.

**APPENDIX II. COMMUNIQUÉ OF BALKAN SPORTS REPRESENTATIVES ON THE
OCCASION OF THE GAMES IN ATHENS IN 1939**

**'Amidst international unrest, the young of the Balkan Peninsula, gathered in the city of
the *Pallad* pay tribute to the spirit of Ancient Olympia'**

Athens, 8 October 1939

Athlese kai Koinonia (Exercise and Society), vol. 23, 1999, p. 25.

APPENDIX III. VENIZELOS' SPEECH AT THE GREEK PARLIAMENT IN OCTOBER 1928

'Gentlemen, I am happy to address you here to-day for the first time after the constitution of the legislative corps...To-day, I hope you will allow me to call your attention to one point in the Governmental programme. It is the regulation of our relations with the neighbours. You already know that a pact of friendship on a very broad basis has been signed between Greece and Italy...I am happy to say that the signature of this pact has been approved generally. And I am convinced that it not only constitutes a guarantee of peace in the future, but that it is also the immediate confirmation of the fact that our relations with the great neighbouring Mediterranean Power will henceforth be just as close and sincere as our relations with the two great Western Powers, towards which our friendship is traditional...I am also pleased to say that the protocol signed (with Yugoslavia) at Belgrade, all the thorny questions which have separated the two countries have been settled...Besides the signature of the pact of friendship with the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, we shall work, as I explained in my platform-speech at Salonica, for the conclusion of similar pacts with Turkey, Bulgaria and Albania...From a ten-year period of wars we have emerged, after the disaster in Asia Minor, with wounds perhaps graver than the wounds of the other nations which had taken part in the war. These wounds can be healed completely, only in the midst of undisturbed peace...'

Wheeler-Bennet, W. John (ed), Documents on International Affairs 1928, London: Humphrey Milford, 1929, pp 119-122.

APPENDIX IV. SIR PERCY LORAINÉ'S REPORT TO SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN ON VENIZELOS' FOREIGN POLICY

'...I have never myself entertained any serious doubt about M. Venizelos' essential friendliness towards Great Britain, and his attitude during the concluding months of the year has been satisfactory, even if the very trying circumstances attendant upon the dispute between the state and the Power and Traction Company. Nevertheless I feel that, although M Venizelos has adopted, and indeed pursued, even more decisively the foreign policy of his predecessors, he will pursue it with an independence that the latter lacked, and, should he at any time decide on a course of action disagreeable to His Majesty's Government, he may prove less amenable to any friendly counsels from our side. This is however, more a comment on the man's character than a forecast of any course of action he is, in my opinion, likely to take...'

FO371/13659/ Annual Report on Greece for 1928.

APPENDIX V. REVIEW OF THE MEASURES TAKEN BY THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION ON SPORT BETWEEN THE YEARS 1930 AND 1932

...1. Creation of Gymnasiums, Shooting Grounds etc

There was concern for the creation of playing grounds at both the old and newly constructed public primary and secondary schools. The foundations for collaboration between the Ministry of Education, municipalities and communities throughout the country for the creation of municipal and communal gymnasiums have been laid while utilisation of the Sports Associations' playing fields was secured by law. About twenty school gymnasiums, three shooting grounds and eight swimming pools have been constructed. Secondary and primary schools have been supplied with modern sports equipment for improvement and promotion of physical exercise. In addition, the Gymnastic Academy, a modern, well-equipped building for Sports Studies, has already been completed. It is an impressive big building modeled on the European Institutes of Sports Studies.

2. Physical Education Law

The new physical education law was drafted and submitted to the Chamber of Deputies. Under the law's terms, physical education provisions that had already been put into effect the previous years, have been completed and codified to be easily implemented. The fresh law provides for the followings:

- a) Promotion of physical exercise inside and outside public schools throughout the country.
- b) Improvement in the future physical education teachers' education and training with the appointment of a well-qualified teaching staff to the Gymnastic Academy, which replaced the College of Gymnastics in an effort to upgrade sports studies and to uphold the Hellenic sports traditions.
- c) Improvement in administration and inspection of physical education. Matters concerning administrative and financial control over the athletic associations as well as further promotion of sport were set down by new law...

To Nomothetiko Ergo tou Ypourgeiou Paideias kai Thriskeumatou: 1930-1932, Ypourgeia G. Papandreou (The Legislative Work of the Ministry of Education and Religion affairs: 1930-1932, Minister G. Papandreou), Athens: Dimitrakou, 1932.

APPENDIX VI. 'THE BALKAN PACT: INITIALING IN BELGRADE'

'The Balkan Pact, or, to give it its official title, the Pact of Balkan Understanding, was initialed this evening in Belgrade by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Greece, Rumania, Turkey and Yugoslavia. It is to be signed in Athens later in the week and the text will be published immediately afterwards.

There is said to have been a protracted discussions between M. Yevtitch, the Yugoslav Minister for Foreign Affairs, and his three colleagues before final agreement was reached on the terms of the Pact. Yugoslav officials assert that M. Yevtitch was able to obtain several modifications of the latest draft with a view to conciliating Bulgaria and Albania.

The duration of the Pact is understood to have been whittled down to seven years. It is said to contain a pledge against the use of force, based on the Pact of Paris and other relevant undertaking; a discreetly worded guarantee of security with some reference to mutual aid and a clause providing for conciliation between the signatories when any of them are negotiating agreements in the Balkans.'

The Times, 5 February 1934.

APPENDIX VII. TELEGRAM FROM SIR N. HENDERSON, THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR IN BELGRADE, TO FOREIGN OFFICE ABOUT YUGOSLAVIA'S POSITION IN BULGARIA'S ADHESION TO THE BALKAN PACT

'...I have communicated today view of His Majesty's Government to Yugoslav Government and spoke yesterday in the same sense. I found Yugoslav Government fully alive to fallacy of signing any general Pact to which Bulgaria could not accede. Before meeting Little Entente they endeavoured to get from Bulgarian Government draft which latter could accept if only on lines of friendship and non-aggression...Nevertheless, Yugoslav Government are still seeking to gain time and I gather that no text has been definitely adopted. They will endeavour to find a formula which will at any rate leave the door open to Bulgarian adhesion...'

FO371/18385/Sir N. Henderson (Belgrade), General Report, 29 January 1934.

APPENDIX VIII. THE ROLE OF SPORT IN FOREIGN POLICY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: INTERVIEWS GIVEN BY GEORGIU, GEORGIOU, GEORGIOS, AMBASSADOR, DIRECTOR AT THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS OF THE GREEK FOREIGN MINISTRY; FEKROU, KIDANE, DIRECTOR AT THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE IOC'S PRESIDENT AND BY LINARDOS, PETROS, SPORTS JOURNALIST AND HISTORIAN, HONORARY PRESIDENT OF THE PAN-HELLENIC ASSOCIATION OF SPORTS PRESS.

a) INTERVIEW BY GEORGIU, GEORGIOU ON 30 SEPTEMBER 1994

...Greece concludes trans-national agreements with other states with the proviso that the interests of all sides are served. With regard to our relationships with states, which, due to particular conditions, put obstacles and look irresolute about the conclusion of political agreements, we utilize as instruments these domains that open the door to further agreements. To achieve rapprochement and establish relations with other states, we usually seek agreement on fields that don't stand on the way of rapprochement. Proposals for collaboration in sport nearly meet no reservations or misgivings. It is therefore the starting point for further agreements. Greece can masterly co-operate with other states throughout the world through sport and culture. We usually face many obstacles in the domains of trade, economy and politics. In sports matters, however, we have no antagonists. Utilizing sport and culture, these indisputably significant instruments, we can overcome difficulties, which are generated by problematic trans-national relationships.'

Gargalianos, Dimitres, Athletismos kai Exoteriki Politiki (Sport and Foreign Policy), Athens: Papazissi, 1998, Appendix 15, pp. 386-391.

b) INTERVIEW BY FEKROU, KIDANE ON 27 JULY 1995

...Sport is a very good communication means for the simple reason that reconciliation between the states is done through sports festivals and not with discussions in a room. The ping-pong diplomacy that linked the United States with China is well known. In Africa, Senegal and Ivory Coast did not have any diplomatic relations with Guinea for years. Nevertheless, this situation changed when their football teams played together. So, sport is an element, which, in some cases, is more productive than political resolutions. In some countries, the decisions of the IOC are more respected than political resolutions.'

Gargalianos, Dimitres, Athletismos kai Exoteriki Politiki (Sport and Foreign Policy), op. cit., pp. 391-395.

c) INTERVIEW BY LINARDOS, PETROS ON 22 DECEMBER 1995

...No doubt, sport and trade are the most effective instruments for the promotion of international relations. Following the political strategy of ancient Greece,

improvement in relations between the states-cities was one of the most important goals of the ancient games...I believe that modern Greece offered a stimulating example when it utilised sport as a medium for establishing relations between the nations in the Balkan Peninsula. By founding the Balkan Games, it attempted to restore and promote trans-Balkan cooperation. We could also say that, from 1982 onwards, meritorious efforts were made by the Greek governments to stage international athletic meetings in Greece, which were expected to promote good relations with other nations.'

Gargalianos, Dimitres, Athletismos kai Exoteriki Politikí (Sport and Foreign Policy), op. cit., pp. 429-432.

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The footnotes, which appear at the end of each chapter, contain additional source references and information. The secondary sources are all cited in alphabetical order by author. The Greek titles are cited in transliteration. Each transliterated title is followed by English translation in brackets.

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